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MANGAIAN SOCIETY

BY
TE RANGI HIROA
(P. H. BUCK)

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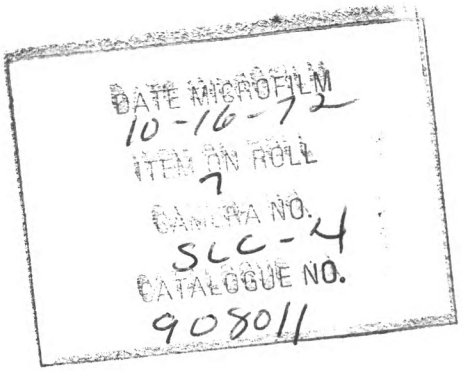

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GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
MAY 23 1968

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Mangaian Society

By

Te Rangi Hiroa
(P. H. Buck)

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The period spent by me on Mangaia extended from December 1929 to April 1930, the months alluded to as the hurricane season. It was the slack time of the year when no vessels visited and the fruit trade was suspended. As a return for the assistance of the Cook Islands Administration, I agreed to act in the place of the Resident Agent, Mr. J. McGruther, during his absence on leave, and was officially gazetted a Commissioner of the High Court of the Cook Islands to try all offences committed during my term of office. The Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata, Minister for the Cook Islands in the New Zealand Cabinet, and Judge Hugh Ayson, Resident Commissioner, who were both interested in the ethnological survey, appointed me acting Resident Agent for the months of my stay on Mangaia as much to facilitate the survey as to assist the administration.

Except for morning sick parades, the weekly court, which occupied less than an hour, and the monthly paying of civil servants, my official duties made little demand on my time. In my official position I was authorized to use the resources of the government in such way as I deemed expedient. The government, therefore, devoted its attention to the ethnological survey. The police in the villages acted as assistants in gathering the people together for the purpose of making head and body measurements. The district and subdistrict chiefs were called upon to conduct official visits of inspection through their districts. The maraes and old battlefields were visited and described by local experts. Prisoners utilized to clear the growth off the maraes took as much interest in practical archaeology as did the Resident Agent. To Sir Apirana and Judge Ayson my thanks are due for giving an ethnologist such a unique opportunity for carrying out field work. To the ariki Matekeiti and the district and subdistrict chiefs who form the Island Council of Mangaia my personal thanks are rendered for their hearty coöperation. My thanks are due to all my informants, but particularly to Aiteina and Akaeakore for the Ngati-Vara genealogies and history and to Daniela Tangitoru for information on certain crafts. I thank Mr. and Mrs. J. McGruther for the use of their residence and equipment. My wife assisted

me as recorder in the anthropological work and took charge of the reciprocal hospitality so necessary in the campaign of a field worker in Polynesia.

GEOGRAPHY

Mangaia, the island farthest south in the Cook archipelago, lies 110 miles southeast of Rarotonga. Marshall (16, p. 1)* records its position, its circumference as 17.62 miles. Its area is estimated as 17,500 acres (26, p. 361).

In the absence of a complete official map, Marshall (16, pl. 1) made a reconnaissance of the whole island in 1923. He was assisted by his native guide, Mama Akaui, who knew the localities on the western side of the island, but some of the information given by him for other parts is inaccurate. His greatest lapse is the omission of the district of Karanga, which lies between the districts of Tavaenga and Ivirua, and completes what are known as the "six districts" (*puna*) of Mangaia. This subject was thrashed out with me on the slopes of Karanga by a group of old men with Marshall's map before them. They indicated the boundaries of Tavaenga and Karanga as shown on the readjusted map (fig. 1).

As the physical features of the island have had a marked influence on the culture of the people, Marshall's physiographic outline (16, p. 7) is quoted:

> The island is surrounded by a coral reef, which in most places has a width of not more than 300 feet; at one place its width is nearly 1,000 feet. From the inner side of the reef platform the coast rises abruptly to a height of 10 to 30 feet and continues as a gentle and more or less uniform slope, which rises 20 feet in a distance of about 600 feet. From the inner edge of the slope a cliff 65 feet high rises abruptly, forming a wall which may be climbed at very few places. Extending inward from the top of the cliff is a broad surface, from which project innumerable sharp limestone pinnacles, when travel is impracticable except where paths have been made. This raised platform of eroded coral rock is called the Makatea; a little more than a half mile from the coast its surface stands about 200 feet above sea level. At its inner edge, the Makatea is terminated by a steep cliff which descends 150 feet or more—in places almost to sea level—and which is unscalable for the greater part of the circumference of the island. At the foot of this inward-facing escarpment lie extensive swamps which receive all the run-off from the central part of the island. The swamps are drained by subterranean channels passing to the sea through the Makatea at depths of more than 150 feet. The central part of the island is a dissected mass of volcanic rock which rises gradually to a height of 554 feet above sea level. Generally this igneous core is separated from the Makatea by the moat which contains the swamp, but in a few places projecting spurs extend downward to the Makatea platform. The summit of the island is a flat surface three quarters of a mile long and less than a quarter of a mile wide. The central point of this flat is called Rangimotia, the "Crown of Mangaia."

The fringing reef which surrounds Mangaia has, according to Marshall (16, p. 10), a raised "Lithothamnion ridge" 60 to 90 feet wide. The seaward edge, exposed to a height of about 2 feet at low water, is explored by womenfolk for shellfish and echini. Deep chasms, varying in width and depth,

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, page 207

FIGURE 1.—Map of Mangaia showing districts, settlements, and major phy siographic features. Numbers refer to maraes visited: 1, Maungaroa; 2, Aumoana ; 3, Areuna; 4, Taku; 5, Mara; 6, Araata; 7, Akaoro; 8, Maracara; 9, Hikau; 10, Mau-tokerau; 11, E tangi-taua; 12, Tukituki-mata; 13, Orongo; 14, Ivanui; 15, Taumatini; 16, Maputu; 17, Ruaiva; 18, Te-ra- tui-o-Vero; 19, Are-vaka; 20, Tangiia-rakoa; 21, Marae-teva; 22, Maramara-a tua; 23, Tuaotukutuku; 24, Arakerake; 25, Karora; 26, Arangirea; 27, Mau-kiore.

penetrate the rim. Where they cross the rim, they form channels (*ava*), which are useful for launching small canoes. The channels, however, do not penetrate far, and none of them reach the shore. An attempt has been made at Oneroa to enlarge and lengthen one of these *ava* to provide a boat passage to the shore. The lack of suitable natural passages has affected the method of launching and beaching canoes.

From the inner side of the raised outer border of the reef there is a sudden downward slope of 2 or 3 feet. The reef flat, which extends from here to the shore, ranges from 80 to 300 yards wide; its surface is always below low-water level. The flat is covered at high tide. The stretch of water between the raised rim and the shore is usually alluded to as the "lagoon." Depressions pitted in the uneven flat form pools when the tide recedes. Some pools are fairly large and are frequented by fish which come in and out with the tides.

The reef flat is bordered inland by a "terrace slope" 300 to 600 feet wide. Before the advent of Christianity the terrace slope was not permanently occupied, but the national marae of Orongo is located on the terrace and at times the Shore High Priest of Rongo took up his residence near the marae. Two divisions of the village of Oneroa are now located on the terrace. Coconuts have been planted all along the coast.

The makatea is penetrated by many crevices and caves which once gave refuge to fugitives after battles. It is probable that some tribes would have been exterminated but for the concealment thus provided. Access to the coast was by steps up the inner and outer faces of the makatea connected by narrow winding paths that avoided the pinnacles and crevices. Plants grow in the red friable soil between the pinnacles. Taro flats form the *puna* lands over which so much fighting took place. Marshall (16, p. 35) states:

> The taro flats are about 40 feet above sea level, where the streams that supply the water to them issue from the valleys. They descend by a series of artificial terraces and end about 20 feet above sea level at the base of the makatea wall. Here the water enters a sink, which may be as much as 10 feet below the general surface, and passes in channels through the makatea, finally issuing on the inner side of the reef flat in the form of springs.

The volcanic slopes in the center of the island are covered with fern (*Gleichenia*) and support groves of toa (*Casuarina*). The stream valleys have dense thickets of small trees and shrubs. The whole central region, referred to as "the mountain" (*maunga*), gave cover to fugitives belonging to defeated tribes.

THE PEOPLE

The Mangaians are brown-skinned Polynesians. The anthropometrical measurements of 200 males and 100 females show them to be of medium

stature; the average is below that of the neighboring Rarotongans. The men are good workers and much in demand for labor.

The population in 1823 was estimated by Williams (*27*) as between 2,000 and 3,000. The government census in 1926 gave a total of 1,241, consisting of 636 males and 605 females. Previous census reports show that the population has decreased steadily since 1823 and reached its lowest number (1,230) in 1921. The village of Titikaveka in Rarotonga contains a large proportion of Mangaians. Some of the decrease was due to emigration to Rarotonga in search of employment. The decrease from introduced and endemic diseases was severe, though the missionaries did their best with the remedies they had. The Health Service at Rarotonga, which now makes occasional visits to Mangaia, has done much to check the excessive mortality through campaigns directed against venereal disease, hookworm, and yaws. Mrs. McGruther, a trained nurse, attends regularly to all sickness and has a well-equipped dispensary.

THE LANGUAGE

The Mangaian dialect closely resembles that of the other islands in the Cook archipelago, but contains a number of local words. The alphabet inaugurated by the missionaries contains 5 vowels, *a, e, i, o,* and *u,* and 8 consonants, *k, m, n, ng, p, r, t,* and *v.* The *wh* of Manihiki and New Zealand and the *f* of Tahiti are absent.

The letter *h* was omitted by the missionaries from the alphabet compiled for Rarotonga. Mr. Stephen Savage and I once held that this letter should have been included, as we thought that the *h* sound was represented in the spoken language (*22*, p. *22*). I am now of the opinion that the sound is, perhaps, more truly a glottal closure, and would be represented better by the hamzah. Both K. P. Emory and J. F. Stimson of Bernice P. Bishop Museum were already of this opinion, and they have made me doubt the accuracy of my original statement. I have always objected to hearing the Taranaki and Whanganui tribes called the "cockneys of New Zealand," because I could always hear the *h* sound in their speech. It is probable from my Cook Islands experience that what I heard was the glottal closure and not the fully aspirated *h* sound. The use of the glottal closure gives the speech a jerkiness which is a marked feature of the Whanganui subdialect of Maori and is sometimes humorously imitated by other tribes. This jerkiness probably results from the application of the glottal closure to the *h* sound. I had long noticed that the Cook Islands use of the *h* resembled that of the Taranaki and Whanganui tribes, and now feel that the similarity lies in the use of the glottal closure. In the native text of this paper the *h* is represented by the hamzah.

If the letter *h* had been introduced into the alphabet, however, there would have been much less confusion. For example, *ua* may represent *ua* (rain),

uha (female) or *huha* (thigh). Similarly *aa* is evidently meant for *aha* (what), and there is nothing to indicate that it may be meant for *haha* (to feel). Sometimes the problem can be solved only by hearing a word pronounced. In Manihiki, Rakahanga, and Tongareva the aspirated *h* is used.

Though the *k* sound is used, it has been dropped, as in Tahiti, in a number of words: *aore* (*kaore*), *ia* (*kia*), *o* (*ko*), and *uete* (*kumete*). In the native text in this work the hamzah has not been used for a dropped *k*.

The *m* sound has been dropped in two words, *kuara* for *kumara* (sweet potato), and *uete* for *kumete* (wooden bowl), but there is no glottal closure.

Whether or not some words written with *v* are sounded as though written with *w* is doubtful in Mangaia as in Aitutaki (23, p. 24).

Christian (3) has compiled a Mangaian vocabulary.

SOURCES

The native culture of Mangaia has been profoundly affected by Western culture for more than a century. The inferiority of many of the old customs and institutions was so impressed upon the minds of the Mangaians by their new teachers that they not only gave them up, but even tried to forget they had ever existed. When I asked an old man what the old people (*ai metua*) thought of a certain native institution, he replied, "Pe'ea taua e kite i te manako a te 'etene?" (How can you and I understand the thoughts of the heathen?)

The field worker is forced to seek for details in the printed pages of early observers, many of whom present biased pictures. The Rev. Wyatt Gill, a resident missionary who was able, because the old men alive in his time had grown up before the advent of the first missionaries in 1823, to record much of the history of Mangaia and many of her songs, wrote largely to interest the British public in the work of the London Missionary Society. In his eight published books (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) there are more detailed stories about murders, human sacrifices, and cannibalism than about the more constructive institutions of Mangaian culture. Yet Gill has covered Mangaian history from the first native settlements to the advent of Christianity. I have used Gill's material freely in order to piece together the details scattered through his different books to form a continuous historical narrative which serves as the basis for my study of the rise of military power in Mangaian social organization.

In estimating the duration of occupation of Mangaia, Gill used lists of priests, though his informant, Mamae, had full pedigrees of the Ngati-Vara tribe. These pedigrees, supplied by Aiteina, are here used for the first time. Much valuable information compiled by the Ngati-Vara bards is contained in the songs given by Gill in connection with historical events. I have not only

introduced the hamzah into the texts, but for most of the songs quoted I have used my own more literal translations. The native text regarding the mythological origin from Vatea is given in full in this paper, both to show the points of difference from Gill's English record and to supply a native text for the use of students of linguistics.

I have also had access to a manuscript by Mamae, an informant of Gill and former pastor of the church at Mangaia.

A source book drawn principally from government records was compiled for my use under the direction of Sir Apirana Ngata. The information concerning the periods immediately preceding and following the proclaiming of the British Protectorate has been of invaluable assistance.

ORIGINS

CREATION MYTH

The creation myth of Mangaia has been well described by Gill (6, pp. 1-22). Mamae's manuscript gives, in addition, the names of the lands occupied by the spirits and also the marriages and offspring of the brothers of Vatea. These extra details provide material for making comparisons with other Polynesian areas.

Mamae states that there were four spiritual beings who, in the order of their distance away from this world, were Te-Aka-ia-Roe, Te Tangaengae, Te Manavaroa, and Vari. The four were of one kind, all spirits (*Ka toko'a ratou, e apinga 'okota'i ratou, e au vaerua anake*). Gill gives the alternative name Te Vaerua (The Spirit) to Te Tangaengae, but in doing so he has evidently misunderstood his informants and restricted to one a descriptive term applied to all four.

Gill (6, p. 2) says the universe of the Mangaians is to be conceived of as the hollow of a vast coconut shell. He places the first three spirits below the coconut shell and pictures them as occupying space represented by "a thick stem, gradually tapering to a point, which represents the very beginning of things. This point is a spirit or demon, without human form, and is named Te-aka-ia-Roe, or The-root-of-all existence." In a note (6, p. 1) he says, "Roê = thread-worm. The idea is of a quivering, slender, wormlike point at which existence begins, i.e., the extremity of the threadworm." Though the thin line may represent the beginning of existence, it does not represent the universe, for, according to Mamae, the four spirits occupied definite lands (*'enua*), of which he gives the names.

Te Aka-ia-roe was the spirit farthest away.

Koia 'oki te 'aka'ui'anga, aore o raro atu.	He was the last, there was no one below.
Tera tona 'enua o 'Avaiki-te-'akaoti.	His land was Hawaiki-the-last.

Te Tangaengae was the second spirit. Gill translates this as "Breathing." The word also carries the meaning of the movement of the ribs during breathing.

Tona 'enua o 'Avaiki-te-araro.	His land was Hawaiki-the-lower.

Te Manava-roa came next. See the following chant. Gill (6, p. 3) translates Te Manava-roa as "The-long-lived." The word conveys the idea of a continuation of breathing. The term *manavaroa* is applied to persons of sound wind whose breath will hold a long time.

Tera teta'i o Te Manava-roa, e vaerua ra i, no roto mai ia Te Tangaengae. Tera te 'enua o 'Avaiki-te-a-nua.	Another was Te Manava-roa, a spirit, closer in than Te Tangaengae. The land was Hawaiki-the-upper.

Vari, a female, the fourth spiritual being, is admitted by Gill (6, p. 3) to

the interior of the coconut shell. Her name in full is Vari-ma-te-takere, which he translates as "The-very-beginning." The word *vari,* however, also means "mud," and, taken in conjunction with *takere* (canoe bottom or keel), the name literally means "The-mud-and-the-bottom"; it suggests the mud on the bottom of the figurative coconut shell. *Vari* is the mud of taro swamps and connotes potential plant growth. As applied to a female, it means the menses and conveys a connection with the female womb and the origin of human growth.

The association of plant and human growth in the Mangaian mind is evident in the phraseology describing the process by which children of Vari were produced. Mamae states:

Tera tei rauka mai no roto ia ratou, O Vari, e vaerua ra i. I a ia i pua'ia mai te tangata i teia 'enua nei.

O te korero ia a te 'ui tupuna, tera te ravenga i rauka mai ai te tangata no roto i a ia ia Vari, i 'aki'akia mai no runga i a Vari, e toru i teta'i kaokao, e toru i teta'i kaokao. Ka tokoono ratou.

There came from among them Vari, a spirit. Through her were derived the human beings of this land.

This is the story of the ancestors that the method by which beings with human qualities were obtained from Vari was by plucking off Vari, three from one side, three from the other side. They were six.

Beings with human characteristics (*tangata*) grew within Vari (*no roto i a ia i a Vari*). The six evidently sprouted up successively from either side of her body from the region of the thorax below the armpits (*kaokao*). That they became external growths is indicated by the fact that they were picked off from Vari (*no runga i a Vari*). The term for picking (*'aki'akia*) is used with reference to mature or ripe fruit. The six were not torn or pulled up (*'u'uti*). According to Mangaian concept, growths within the fertile mud (*vari*) sprouted up like plants and were picked off when they reached maturity. The fruit picked off had human characteristics, indicated, perhaps, by the double meaning of *vari,* but the plant idea predominates. Vari had no husband and her children no father.

The land of Vari received a special name:

Tera te ingoa o to Vari 'enua o Te Aiti-i-te-apiapi.

The name of Vari's land was Te Aiti-i-te-apiapi.

It was a narrow, confined land (*aiti*), with a low ceiling, in which Vari sat kneeling (*tuturi*) or crouched up (*memenge*). The name Te-Aiti-i-te-apiapi probably means the "Narrow-land-where-little-could-be-done." The land of Vari is alluded to in dance song (*pe'e kapa*) composed by the ancestor Potiki.

No'o mai Vari i Te Aiti
I te tuturi, i te memenge
E Rongo e, a kake!

Vari dwelt in the Narrow-land,
Kneeling and crouched up.
O Rongo, ascend!

Gill (6, p. 8), in quoting this song, spells Te Aiti with small initial letters and translates the first line, "The house of Vari is the narrowest of all."

Treating Te Aiti as descriptive instead of as a proper noun, the name of Vari's land, led him into the error of describing Vari as living with her daughter in the land of Enua-te-ki.

Another verse of the same song quoted by Gill (6, p. 9) contains additional detail:

No'o mai Vari i Te Aiti;	Vari dwelt in the Narrow-land;
E tuarangi kai taro mata	A distant region where taro was eaten raw
I na turanga pure e!	At the appointed times of worship.
O Vatea matua e pua 'ua ake.	(Our) parent Vatea simply grew.

Gill translates the second line as "A goddess eating raw taro," but *tuarangi* means a "region beyond the horizon" or "distant region" rather than "goddess."

CHILDREN OF VARI

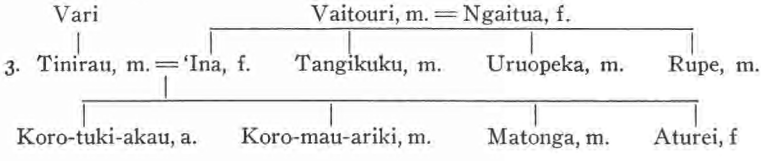
The six fatherless children of Vari, in order of plucking, are given by Mamae, with the lands they occupied, as follows:

Vari, f.	Side of Vari	Lands
1. Avatea or Vatea, m.	Right	Te Papa-rairai
2. Tumu-te-ana-oa, f.	Left	Te Parae-tea
3. Tinirau, m.	Right	1. Moana-irakau
		2. Motu-tapu
4. Raka, m.	Left	Matauriki
5. Tango, m.	Left	Te Aiti-kai-moko
6. Tu-metua, f.	Right	Enua-te-ki

Gill (6, pp. 4, 5) gives Tinirau as the second child, Tango as the third, Tumu-te-ana-oa as the fourth, and Raka as the fifth. He attributes the land of Moana-irakau to Raka, and Enua-kura to Tango.

Tumu-te-ana-oa was the female personification of Echo. Both the name of the person and the land she occupied had to do with the production of echoes. Her name means "the cause (*tumu*) of the call or voice (*oa*) heard from caves (*ana*)." The term *oa* is used by people when calling out to evoke an echo. Her land was Te Parae-tea, which Gill translates, "The-hollow-gray-rocks." Mamae gives no more detail, but Gill (6, p. 114) recounts that Tumu-te-ana-oa frequented the caves of Mangaia, where she was seen by Rangi, one of the first inhabitants. The cave in which she was first seen was Aitu-mamaoa.

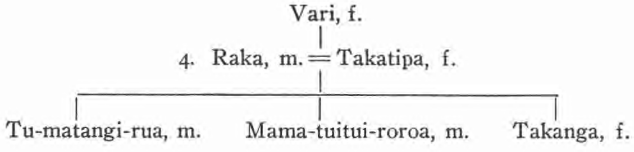
Tinirau dwelt in Moana-Irakau, or, according to some, at Motu-tapu (*Tera-tona 'enua o Moana-irakau, i ta teta'i tara o Motu-tapu*). Mamae gives the following:



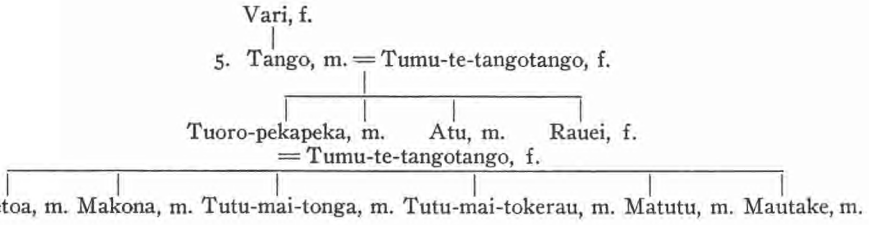
Inconsistencies in the Mangaian account are at once apparent:

Vari, the great source of human life, had contemporaries in the father and mother of Ina, who married Tinirau. Gill (6, p. 4) says that Tinirau had a second fish form, a sprat, and that he was lord of the finny inhabitants of the sea, from the shark down. Tinirau appears in many Polynesian areas as the tutelary deity of fish and the owner of the pet whale killed by Kae. Accounts from several sources give his land as Motu-tapu. In the name of his wife, Ina, we see the Hina of New Zealand and the Sina of Samoa. The Mangaian genealogy gives Rupe as one of the brothers of Ina, which corresponds to the New Zealand version except that Rupe was another name for Maui-mua, the eldest of the Maui brethren. The voyage of Ina on various fish to seek Tinirau at Motu-tapu is recorded by Gill (6, p. 88), and also the subsequent visit of her brother Rupe in the form of a linnet (*karaurau*). The Mangaian myth is localized in part, for Tinirau and his son Koro are said to have lived part of their time on Mangaia at the place named Atua-koro. The mystic isle of Motu-tapu with its great fishponds was called to the reef at Mangaia by the incantations of Tinirau, who then embarked on it (6, p. 101).

Raka presided over the winds. According to Gill (6, p. 5), Raka received from Vari a great basket, which contained the winds, as well as the knowledge of many useful inventions. Each wind was assigned a hole in the horizon through which it blew. Mamae gives his wife and children but not the parents of the wife, Takatipa; whoever they were, they formed additional contemporaries of Vari.



Tango is given by Mamae as the progenitor of a skilled fishing family:



That the six grandsons of Tango were good workers is shown in the native text. The enclosure (*akeke*) for fish mentioned in the chant has not been retained in the local culture of the people.

E aronga rava kai ratou.	They were workers in obtaining food.
Na ratou i timata i te tuku manga ika i roto i te akeke o Tinirau.	By them was commenced the placing of fish within the enclosure [fishpond] of Tinirau.
O Moana-irakau te tai i tuku ai ratou.	Moana-irakau was the sea in which they netted.

Ia Aketoa e Makona nga tutu.
Ia Tutu-mai-tonga e Tutu-ma-takerau nga rau.
Ia Maututu e Mautake te tireu.

I parau i te akari te 'anau ika.

Inara ia tuku ratou i te upenga, ua ki i te mangaika, kare e maranga. Ia taki ki runga, ua kau topa atu ra i nga tuarangi.
Tera nga tuarangi: o Anaua, Apainuku, Tuturi-kai-enieni, Tane-maru-a-nuku, Tane-te-tuarangi-i-marangai, Tane-tane-maru-a-nuku, Irakoai.
I timata 'ia te tatau 'ia i te apinga.

I tatau te takau, e rau, e mano, e kiu, e tini.

Aketoa and Makona had the set nets.
Set-nets-from-the-south and Set-nets-from-the-north had the leaf sweeps.
Maututu and Mautake had the scoop net.
The progeny of fish were attracted by ground bait composed of [grated mature] coconut.
And thus when they let down the nets, they were filled with fish and could not be lifted. On attempting to lift [they] fell over the horizons.
The horizons were: Anaua, etc.

The counting of things was commenced [by them].
There was counted a twenty, a hundred, a thousand, a kiu, a myriad.

Tu-metua lived in Enua-te-ki. The place name means "Mute-land" (*'enua,* "land," + *te,* used as a negative, + *ki,* "to speak"). Gill (6, p. 6) states that Vari and Tu-metua lived together in Enua-te-ki, but he was in error in treating Te Aiti as a descriptive word and not as Vari's own distinct land. Mamae's native text, however, shows that the two lands were close together. It also explains the meaning of Tu-metua's name, which differs from Gill's translation as "Stick-to-the-parent."

Tera tona 'enua o 'Enua-te-ki.

E no'o vaitata a ia i te pa'aki o to ratou metua.
I karanga'ia tona ingoa o Tumetua, tei a ia te taratu o to ratou metua.
O taratu te aite anga otona ingoa.

I karanga'ia e kare a ia i kite i te kanga va'ine.
Ia tara'ia te tara kino i a ia, kare e ki mai; e tara tu ra, e tungou 'ua mai.

I karanga'ia e e 'enua parere te tara.

Tera te pe'e i 'atua e Potiki no te 'enua o Tu-metua:
"E 'enua va'ine iraro atu,
"Te a'a maira te tara?
"'Aore.

The name of her land was the Mute-land.
She dwelt close to the home of their parent.
Her name was called Tumetua [as] she had the straight speech of their parent.
Straight-speech was the meaning of her name.
It was said that she did not know female sins.
When evil speech was spoken to her, she did not answer; [but] straight speech, she simply nodded her head.
It was said to be a land destitute of speech.
There is the song composed by Potiki regarding the land of Tu-metua:
"There is a land of women further down.
"What is the tale that comes from there?
"Nothing.

(Taipo e)

"E 'enua parere i 'Avaiki, e 'enua mu matangi e.

"Ae—

"Ua ie Tautiti nei aore kite i te tara e.

"E a'a te tara i tara i; tei 'Avaiki na va'ine ie kata e."

(Chorus)

"A speechless land in Hawaiki, a land dumb as the winds.

"Yes

"Tautiti is now silent, not knowing how to speak.

"What is the story that is told; in Hawaiki are women who laugh silently."

Mamae gives the following account of Avatea or Vatea, first child of Vari:

Tera te tangata mua o Avatea.
Tera tona 'enua i Te Papa-ra 'ira'i i takina i nunga ei poitu.

Tera tana va'ine o Papa, e tama'ine no Timate-kore. Tamaiti-ngavarivari tona metua va'ine.
E va'ine 'akairimoe 'ia e Avatea i te po. Te moe ra raua.

Ia 'itirere a ia i te ao, kare 'ua taua va'ine.
Kimi 'aere atu ra a ia i te nga'i i no'o ai.

Tera tana ravenga i varu a ia i te 'akari e paru i nga va'arua.
Ua 'oki a ia ua moe i tona kainga, kua ara mai a ia i te popongi, kua 'aere kua akara i nga va'arua, tana i paru.
Ta'i va'arua ua pau te 'akari, o te va'arua tana i kite ana i taua va'ine.

Kua varu 'aka'ou i te akari, kua tuku ra i taua va'arua.
Kua no'o a ia i te pae, ua a'ia'i.
Karo atu a ia i te rima te 'aro mai ra i te 'akari. Ua 'oro a ia i taua va'arua, ua kite a ia i a Papa, ua rave a ia ei va'ine nana.
Ua ui a Avatea kia Papa i te metua tane e te metua va'ine. Ua 'akakite mai a Papa o Timate-kore e Tamaiti-ngavarivari. Ua ui i te 'enua, ua 'akakite mai o 'Enua-kura.
E rua o Avatea tino, e tino tangata, e tino ika.

The first man was Vatea.
His land was the Thin-stratum-of-earth, [which] was drawn up above as a net float.
His wife was Papa, a daughter of Timate-kore. Tamaiti-ngavarivari was her mother.
[Papa was] a woman embraced by Vatea in his sleep. They two slept together.
When he woke in the morning, that woman was not there.
He sought about for the place where she lived.
What he did was to grate coconut to place before the openings in the earth.
He returned to sleep at his home, he arose in the morning and went to view the openings that he had baited.
One opening, the coconut had disappeared, the opening that he would see that woman.
He grated coconut afresh, [and] laid it at that opening.
He remained at the side, it was evening.
He saw a hand scraping up the grated coconut. He hastened to the opening, he saw Papa [and] he took her as his wife.
Vatea asked Papa who were her father and mother. Papa informed him that they were Timate-kore and Tamaiti-ngavarivari. [He] asked their land, [she] informed him it was Enua-kura.
Vatea had two bodies, a human body and a fish body.

Gill (6, p. 4) pictures Vatea as a composite being, one half, from the middle vertical line, human, and the other half fish. Perhaps Gill's informants made such a division clear to him. As Mamae says Vatea has two bodies, it is possible that the spiritual form was human and the fish form the material incarnation. The same applies to Tinirau, who had two forms.

Avatea, or Vatea, means "Light-of-day." The full name of Papa is Papa-i-te-itinga. Papa is the earth crust or stratum, and the full name is Earth-in-the-rising (or -east). The mating of Light and Earth is an old Polynesian conception. From this marriage the gods were born, and through them human beings came into the world.

Conflicting traditional versions of the lands occupied are evident:

Mamae states that Enua-kura was the land of Papa's parents, whereas Gill attributes that land to Tango. Gill (6, p. 2), in his diagrammatic scheme of the universe, represents the interior of the coconut as divided into six superimposed strata. If this depicts the Mangaian idea of the universe, Gill has omitted one stratum in placing Vari and Tu-metua on the same stratum. From Mamae's account, however, it does not appear that distinct strata were indicated, but rather a number of lands at varying distances from the surface located in a vague general Avaiki. Vari lived in the most distant part, Te Aiti-i-te-apiapi, on the bottom (*takere*) of the hollow sphere. Near her was Enua-te-ki, the home of her daughter, Tu-metua. The land of Te Papa-rairai, the home of Vatea, was floated up to the top to form a thin crust of land below the opening through which the great-grandchildren of Vatea were subsequently to emerge into the upper world of human beings. The Land-of-the-hollow-gray-rocks (Te Parae-tea), the home of Tumu-te-ana-oa, could have been anywhere, for Tumu-te-ana-oa is later said to inhabit some of the caves of Mangaia. Tinirau dwelt on Motu-tapu, situated in the Moana-Irakau (Deep-ocean), and near him was evidently Te Aiti-kai-moko (Narrow-land-where-lizards-were-eaten), the land of his brother Tango, for Tango's grandchildren fished in Moana-irakau and stocked Tinirau's fishpond with fish obtained therein. Gill states that Raka's land was Moana-irakau. Mamae records that it was Matau-riki, but Matau-riki may be another island in the Moana-irakau over the surface of which the winds of Raka swept. Thus Tinirau, Tango, and Raka lived on lands or islands studded on one ocean and occupied one stratum instead of three. Enua-kura, occupied by Papa's parents, is not accounted for, nor are the lands from which the wives of the three other brothers came. The conception of a hollow coconut divided into six strata does not fit in with mythological data. The fact that other Polynesians had definite strata in their underworld does not prove that the Mangaians had a similar arrangement. Gill's diagram printed in 1876 may even influence workers in other areas to take the strata as typical and influence them in producing similar definite arrangements that may not have taken form in the native mind. The native philosophers were not clear as to their pre-Mangaian history. Such persons and lands as were remembered were conveniently stuffed into a vague Avaiki.

CHILDREN OF VATEA

Of the six children of Vari, Mamae could follow out the lines of descent from Vatea only:

Kare i taka to e tokorima 'uanga i aku, o ta'i 'ua 'uanga i taka i aku, no Vatea 'ua.
Tera ta Vatea 'anau, ta Papa i 'anau.

Tera ta raua tama mua o Tangaroa.
Aru mai o Rongo, aru mai o Tonga-iti, aru mai o Tane-papa-kai, aru mai o Tangiia.

I do not know the descendants of five, the descendants of one only are known to me, from Vatea only.
This is the family of Vatea that Papa bore.
Their first son was Tangaroa.
There followed Rongo, followed Tonga-iti, followed Tane-papa-kai, followed Tangiia.

O ta'i o ratou tua'ine o Te Ra-kura-iti.
Tera to ratou au tu'anga i tuku'ia e te metua.
E ta'ua kai to Tangaroa.
Tera tana au kai: e nu kura, e i'i kura, e 'uetu, e kaka kura, e au manu kura, e au mangaika kura.
Otira 'ua tana, no te mea kare i tika i te metua va'ine te au kai ravarai.

Kua taumaro a Vatea raua o tana va'ine o Papa. Tera te mea i taumaro ai raua me tareke te au kai ravarai ia Tangaroa, kare te metua va'ine e tae i te kai.

Ua tapu no te mea e tama a Tangaroa.

Ko ta te metua va'ine korero ia ia ra'i ta Rongo ta'ua kai ia tae a ia i te kai.

Tera teta'i korero a Papa ia riro nga tu'anga i tena ta'iaiti ia Rongo.

Their one sister was Te Ra-kura-iti.
There were divisions given to them by their father.
A division of food was Tangaroa's.
These were his foods: red coconuts, red chestnuts, plantains, a red kind of taro, red birds, red fish.
Only these were his, because his mother would not consent to all foods [being his].
Vatea and his wife Papa disagreed. The subject they two disagreed about was, if all kinds of food were allocated to Tangaroa, the mother could not be present at the meal.
[The food] would be prohibited because Tangaroa was the first-born.
This was the mother's speech that the share of food of Rongo be large in order that she could be present to eat.
That was one talk of Papa so that distributions would be obtained by that younger brother, by Rongo.

Vatea desired that Tangaroa, as the first-born, should have all the kinds of food, but Papa used her influence with her husband to restrict Tangaroa's official share to the foods which were of a reddish tinge. Red was chosen to pacify him, as it was the color of high chieftainship derived by the first-born. All other foods she obtained by intrigue for Rongo, as she was not prohibited by the law of primogeniture from sharing his meals. Thus Rongo got more than his share, not only of food but of power.

Ta Rongo tu'anga, e ua mangaia, e tikoru, e paku, e papa, e ta'uakai, e atua.

Kia tae te tuatau i ropa ta raua takurua o te ta'ua kai koia 'oki te tuituitu, kua onge i ta Tangaroa. Kua takataka'i i te vaevae ta Rongo.

No reira mai ia apinga, e tuoro takurua. Tera te tara me tuoro:

"Putunga a kai—
"Na Ruanuku, na Tangaroa,
"Na te anau Atea
"E tini—e mano—."

Rongo's share [consisted of] temporal power, bark cloth, paku [?], ornaments, a distribution of food, supernatural power.
When the season arrived that their [Tangaroa and Rongo's] feast of food was spread out, that is, at the tuituitu feast, Tangaroa's [spread] did not appease the hunger. Rongo's spread [was so great that it] was trodden under foot.
From that time was derived this thing [custom], a calling of the feast. These are the words when calling:
"The heaping together of food—
"Belonging to Ruanuku, to Tangaroa,
"To the descendants of Atea,
"[They are] myriad—[they are] numberless."

Because of the restricted number of red foods, Tangaroa's heaps of food at the feast were small. The share of food belonging to Rongo, owing to

the greater variety of material, was piled so high that the food rolled off the heaps and was trodden under foot. Tangaroa became so jealous (*vare'ae*) that he left (*'oro*) for other parts. Tangaroa was evidently married to a woman named Taka.

Tera 'oki ra te 'anau a Vatea, ta Papa i 'anau, ko Tangaroa te tama, i karanga'ia ai kare i 'anau mai no raro, i na roto mai i te 'atu 'e'e.
I teta'i tana i na roto mai i te kokira upoko, no te mea a kikomua a ia i tapu ai.

Also from the family of Vatea, born of Papa, of Tangaroa the first-born, it was said that he was not born from below but from the core of a boil.
In another story, he emerged through the hair whorl of the head [of his mother] because he was the first-born and thus tapu.

The reason for Tangaroa's abnormal birth is clearly explained. He was the first-born male (*kiko mua,* "first flesh") and could not use a common path, as he bore the tapu of primogeniture. This miraculous delivery is used to stress the importance of male seniority in the family.

Tera te rua o te tama o Rongo. Tei a ia te tu'amga, koia 'oki te ua mangaia.
Tera te toru o Tonga-iti.
Tei a ia te pi'a i te toa e te vainga'ere.

Tera te 'a o Tane-papa-kai.
Tei a ia te pi'a i te umu e te atua.
Tera te rima o Tangiia,
Tei a ia te ika kokoti e te viriviri.

Tera te ono o Te-ra-kura-i-'iti, to ratou ia tua'ine.

The second son was Rongo. He had the share, which is power and authority.
The third was Tonga-iti.
He had the receptacle of bravery and military enterprises.
The fourth was Tane-papa-kai.
He had the oven and the god.
The fifth was Tangiia.
He had the cut-up fish [human sacrifice] and the viriviri [?].
The sixth was the Red-sun-in-the-rising, their sister.

Rongo, besides securing power over the greater share of food, completed the discomfiture of his elder brother, Tangaroa, by obtaining his wife.

No'o i'o ra Rongo i runga i to ratou 'enua. Tera te ingoa o te 'enua o A'ua'u.
Riro mai ra te va'ine a Tangaroa ia Rongo. I ropa 'ekeke'ia e Rongo, i keu ai i ia a Taka.

I tomata'ia i nunga i a Rongo teia apinga te te'e ure. Na Tu'a ia angaanga.

E tae ake ra i te tuatau i 'anau ai ta Rongo tamaiti i a Taka, 'anau mai ra e tama'ine. O Tavake tona ingoa.

'Anau mai ra ta Tavake e 'anau kakaoa. Tera to ratou au ingoa o Rangi, Te Akatauira, Moko, Te 'Etu, Te Mata-o-Tangaroa. No'o kapiti i'o ratou i to ratou 'enua o A'ua'u.

Rongo remained on their land. The name of the land was Auau.

The wife of Tangaroa was secured by Rongo. It was by greater sex appeal on the part of Rongo that Taka transferred her affection to him.
The custom of exposing the glans penis [superincision] was begun on Rongo. This operation was introduced by Tua.
When the period was reached that Rongo's child by Taka should be born, there was born a girl. Her name was Tavake.
Tavake gave birth to a brood of illegitimates. Their names were Rangi, Te Akatauira, Moko, Te Etu, and Te Mata-o-Tangaroa. They lived together on their land, Auau.

The children of Tavake were called *kakaoa* (illegitimate) because she had no official husband; the father of her children was her own father Rongo. With the birth of Tavake's children the lineage of the main stock of Mangaia became definitely human.

Gill (6, p. 118) records a myth in which Tangaroa descends from the heavens on his rainbow girdle to mate with Ina-ani-vai, who gives birth to Tarauri and Turi, both flaxen-haired. (See 6, p. 13.) The sons engage in dart-throwing games with the seven dwarf sons of Pinga (p. 150). By some, the incidents were placed in the land of Ukupolu, showing that the early Mangaian historians had a memory of other Polynesian lands which they had not been able to work into Avaiki of the underworld.

FIRST HUMAN SETTLERS

In the fifth generation from Vari the sons of Tavake by the god Rongo were living on the land of Auau in the underworld of Avaiki. Mamae writes:

Tera te aiteanga ia A'ua'u, "'akatautika." Kia tae i te tuatau i takina mai ai a A'ua'u i nunga, na Rangi ma i taki mai. Kare i kitea te ravenga i takina ai.

The meaning of Auau, "leveled-off." When the time arrived that Auau was brought to the surface, it was Rangi and the others who brought it up. It is not known by what means it was brought up.

Tera te korero a te ai metua, i karanga'ia e e 'aka'aka 'ua te rangi i raro. Tera tona teitei e 'a 'onu. Noreira te pia e te teve i para ai te rau, kare e nga'i e tupu atu ai ua papani'ia mai e te rangi. Karanga'ia e na Ru i toko te rangi i teitei ai.

This is the story of the fathers that it was told that the sky was spread out low down. Its height was four finger spans. That is the reason why the pia and the teve [two species of arrowroot] have flat leaves, there being no space for them to grow, as the sky confined them. It was said that Ru propped up the sky, which makes it so high.

E toru kopu i kake mai i nunga nei, no raro mai i 'Avaiki. Tera aua nga kopu, o Rangi, Te 'Akatauira, o Moko. E mokopuna ratou na Rongo.

Three groups of people came up to this upper region from below in Avaiki. These groups were Rangi, Te Akatauira, and Moko. They were grandchildren of Rongo.

NOTE: Drawing up an island to the surface is not a unique legend. Both Rakahanga and the North Island of New Zealand were raised from the bottom of the sea by inhabitants of the upper world who journeyed to the site in the ocean by canoe. Auau, however, was drawn or led up (*takina*) from the underworld where there were other lands. Mamae naïvely says of Auau that it is not known how it was drawn up. The myth of the sky's proximity to the earth is widespread, and Ru figures in the Cook, Society, and Tuamotu islands as the person who pushed up the sky to its present position. In Tahiti Ru propped up the sky at the request of Tane, but in New Zealand Tane himself did the work. The effect of the sky's pressure in flattening the leaves of the arrowroot is known throughout the Tuamotus.

Three of Rongo's grandsons, Rangi, Te Akatauira, and Moko (Mokoiro), were the first human beings on the land. Although Rongo was actually their father, they are usually referred to as his grandsons through their mother in order not to stress the illegitimate strain, for Rongo could not very well marry his own daughter. The incest was accepted but not approved.

Incidents are often narrated by natives to stress the fact that their ancestors, the early voyagers, were the first on the land. In Mangaia a story with such a purpose, naïvely inconsistent with the myth that Rangi and his brothers drew Mangaia up from the underworld, was originated.

Rangi, while exploring his domain, came to a pile of rocks overhanging a gorge. He shouted and to his surprise all his questions were answered by similar questions. He cursed the unseen owner of the voice and was cursed back in a mocking strain. At last he caught sight of a female laughing at him. When asked her name, she replied that she was Tumu-te-ana-oa who had occupied the rocks of Mangaia ere Rangi had set foot on the soil. She was the sister of Vatea and the personification of echoes. Her offspring were the rats and the shrimps, eels, and small fish which lived in the fresh-water streams of Mangaia. She had no husband. Her offspring evidently came into being without a male parent. The story as given in full by Gill (6, p. 114) stresses the point that though Tumu-te-ana-oa was first on Mangaia she was a spirit and her offspring were not human, whereas Rangi was the first man.

Mamae says that family groups (*kopu*) ascended with the three brothers. Among the few names remembered are those of the wives. Rangi was married to Potangotango and had a son Paparangi. Moko was married to Angarua and had a son, Vaeruarangi. Te Akatauira was married to Ruange.

The three brothers ruled over their land, but Rongo distributed the authority between them. To Rangi he gave the drum of peace which subsequently confirmed temporal authority over all the people. To Moko he gave the authority over food which developed into the position of the official Ruler of Food (Te-ariki-i-te-ua-i-te-tapora-kai, "The-chief-at-the-head-of-the-food-platter"). To Te Akatauira he gave the *karakia* (prayers and ritual) out of which developed the positions of the two priests of Rongo. The ritual had to do with Rongo and not the gods who became established later. Rangi and his brothers could descend at will through Tiki's hole (p. 199) to consult with Rongo.

The three brothers were the High Chiefs (*nga ariki*), and the term Nga-ariki, subsequently shortened to Ngariki, was, in the course of time, applied as a tribal name to the combined groups under them. With the later increase of population the Ngariki split into three subgroups which evidently traced descent to each of the three brothers; the Ngariki proper, or Parangi, from Paparangi, the son of Rangi; the Ngati-Vaeruarangi from Vaeruarangi, son of Moko; and Te Akatauira from Te Akatauira. The three groups still come under the name Ngariki.

From the distribution of authority by Rongo, certain titles were estab-

lished by succession in the Ngariki tribe. Of these, the two priests of Rongo and the Ruler of Food remained in the Ngariki tribe throughout Mangaian history in spite of the vicissitudes and defeats that it subsequently suffered. The office of Supreme Temporal Lord which went with the drum of peace was kept in the Ngariki for some generations, but, becoming intimately merged in a military dictatorship, it passed to the strongest military power of the time.

The names of three of the first settlers are given in a myth briefly paraphrased from Gill's version (6, pp. 282-286):

One of the first settlers, Matoetoea, possessed the wonderful power of causing violent shivering fits to assail anyone who lifted up an arm to strike him. Thus anyone having gooseflesh with a shivering fit was said to have the skin of Matoetoea (*te kiri o Matoetoea*). A warrior named Tukaitaua, son of Tavarenga, in the underworld of Avaiki, was attracted to the upper world by the fame of Matoetoea. Matoetoea's art failed him and he fell under the spear of Tukaitaua. Tukaitaua also killed Ngake and Akuru. Matoetoea was the first person slain in the early reign of Rangi. Rangi went down through Tiki's chasm to seek advice of his grandfather Rongo. Rongo sent Tutavake to exact vengeance, instructing him not to attack Tukaitaua while the sun threw a long shadow in the morning or afternoon, as his strength increased or diminished with the length of the shadow cast. Tutavake thus met Tutaitaua at noon and slew him when the sun cast no shadow. The Ngariki people were supposed to have learned about weapons and methods of using them from covertly watching Tukaitaua during his daily sparring practices before he was killed by Tutavake.

Papaaunuku, next to the three High Chiefs, was the most famous of the first immigrants from the underworld. Gill (6, p. 19) states that he was a son of Tane-papa-kai, the brother of Rongo, and that Tane spoke through him quietly and without frenzy. Rangi, who wanted another god in addition to Rongo, rejected Tane, took Motoro as his god for the upper world, and appointed Papaaunuku as his priest. Mamae, who is a direct descendant of Papaaunuku, does not agree with the Tane paternity, for he says, in speaking of his own tribe (*kopu*):

Tera te ingoa o te tupuna mua tika i o tona kopu o Papaaunuku. I tuatua'ia e no raro mai no 'Avaiki. Kare 'ua i kitea tona metua tane e tona metua va'ine.

Kua 'akariro atu ra teta'i tangata ia Papaaunuku ei pi'a atua nona. Tera te ingoa o taua tangata o Rangi. Riro atu ra a Papaaunuku ei pi'a atua no te kopu o Ngariki.

The name of the very first ancestor of his tribe was Papaaunuku. It was said that he came from below from Avaiki. It is not known who were his father and his mother.

A certain man appointed Papaaunuku as the medium of his god. The name of that man was Rangi. Thus Papaaunuku was taken as a priest for the tribe of Ngariki.

The descendants of Papaaunuku do not recognize their first ancestor as a son of Tane. It is known that six generations later Mautara consulted Tane on his own business, but both Aiteina and Akaeakore held that the communications were made indirectly through his wife, Te Ko, who belonged to the Ngati-Tane tribe, and through Te Vake, his uncle-in-law, who was

high priest of Tane. The descendants of Papaaunuku for some generations became followers of Tane, but they were never priests of Tane, which would have been their right had Papaaunuku been Tane's son. The worshipers of Tane did not arrive on Mangaia until some time after the advent of the Ngariki and Papaaunuku.

Rauvaru, another first settler mentioned by Gill (6, p. 273), built the first house on Mangaia at Tamarua and left the long thatch ends hanging down. Rangi admired the new invention but thought improvements could be effected. He descended to the underworld, where Rongo presented him with an adz named Ruateatonga. With the adz he trimmed the thatch all around the eaves while Ruavaru was asleep. The owner was astonished to see the improvements effected on his house.

RAROTONGAN INFUSION

As listed in Table 2, Tangiia in the family of Vatea was a younger brother of the gods Tangaroa, Rongo, Tonga-iti, and Tane-papa-kai. Gill (6, p. 24) says this mythical Tangiia, whose ironwood form was deposited in the Museum of the London Missionary Society, must be distinguished from the Rarotongan ancestor of that name, who is unquestionably a historical character.

The tribal god of the Ngariki tribe was Motoro. Gill (6, p. 19) gives the following origin of Motoro, after stating that Rangi had rejected Tane-papa-kai because he spoke without frenzy through his son:

> His grandfather Rongo lived only in the shades; Rangi wished for a god who would live with him in this upper world. He therefore sent to Rarotonga to ask Tangiia, a renowned warrior king of that island, to send over one of his sons "who had grown up under the sacred shade of the tamanu leaves" to be his god. Rangi's wish was gratified, and Motoro was fixed upon by his father for the purpose.

No details are given as to how Rangi, who had made no canoe voyages, knew of the existence of Rarotonga and Tangiia. It might be inferred that Gill had blended his knowledge of Mangaian and Rarotongan traditions, were it not for other details regarding Motoro:

> The Mangaian tradition (6, pp. 25-27) states that Tangiia sent Motoro with two of his brothers, Ruanuku and Kereteki. Another brother, Utakea, followed some time after. Of these four sons, Motoro was the fourth and best beloved. At sea a violent quarrel took place and the two eldest brothers threw Motoro into the sea, where he perished. Motoro's body was devoured by sharks, but his spirit floated on a piece of hibiscus until it reached Mangaia. Here it entered Papaaunuku and, "drawing him into a frenzy, compelled him to utter his oracles from a foaming mouth." The two brothers Ruanuku and Kereteki reached the west coast of Mangaia and landed opposite the marae of Rongo. Here they decided to bathe in a pool of fresh water; but, a quarrel arising as to who should bathe first, Kereteki treacherously slew his first-born brother in the bath. Utakea, the third brother, arrived later on the south of the island. He lived peacefully with his brother Kereteki. Kereteki set up a marae sacred to his dead brother, Motoro. Both Kereteki and Utakea lived and died on Mangaia and in the next generation were worshipped as gods.

Te Kuraaki was a god brought from Rarotonga by Tui (6, p. 31).

Tui is first on the list of the combined high chiefs and priests of Rongo known as the *ariki-pa-tai* (Shore High Chiefs). He is said to have come from Rarotonga and, by courtesy, to have shared the High Chief's honors with Rangi by sitting with him on the sacred sandstone in Rongo's marae at Orongo. The Orongo marae was situated on the coast below the makatea on the west. Rangi occupied the position of the first Inland High Chief (*ariki-pa-uta*). Tui's son, Tamatapu, succeeded to the position of Shore High Chief on his father's death. His mother was a native of Mangaia and belonged to the tribe Te Tui-kura (The Red-marked). Their god was Te Kuraaki, brought from Rarotonga by Tui, but it is not stated in what way they were related to the Ngariki or how they became established on Mangaia in the time of Rangi.

Rarotongan influence in the earliest part of Rangi's occupation must have been strong for Tui to obtain the high position created for him and for Rangi to obtain the Ngariki god from Rarotonga. Much detail concerning Motoro is found in Rarotongan traditions:

> Tangiia, while living in the Society Islands, heard of the beauty of the two daughters of Uki, a chief of the island of Mauke. He voyaged there, and while the two girls were bathing in an inland fresh-water pool, he approached by stealth to observe them. He married both. By the elder sister, Moetuma, he had a son named Te Rei; by the younger sister, Puatara, he had Motoro. The name Motoro, which means "to approach a woman by stealth," was given to Puatara's son to record the incident at the bathing pool. Tangiia left his wives in Mauke, but subsequently sent from Tahiti for Motoro. In a battle on Tahiti between Tangiia and Tutapu, Motoro would have been consumed in a forest fire had the gods not taken pity and saved him. They conveyed him to Mangaia, where he was brought up, according to one version. After Tangiia became established in Rarotonga he sent to Mangaia for Motoro and set him up as a high chief with maraes and lands. He had issue, one of whom, Ruatapu, is a prominent Cook Islands and New Zealand ancestor.

The Rarotongan and Mangaian stories regarding Motoro vary considerably. The Mangaian version, in which Ruanuku, Kereteki, and Utakea were elder brothers of Motoro, is not supported in Rarotonga. Tangiia had a number of wives at different times, but none of the children's names agree with those mentioned above. Gill (6, p. 25) states that Ruanuku of Mangaian mythology is the Uanuku of Rarotonga, who is respresented by the "wise men" of Rarotonga as the eldest son of Tangiia. This statement is not confirmed by the Rarotongan genealogies, but Uenuku (not Uanuku) is given as Motoro's son.

SUMMARY

The five generations of the mythological account are summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1.—Mythological Origin of the People of Mangaia.

1. Te Aka-ia-Roe
Te Tangaengae
Te Manava-roa

Vari

2. Vatea, m. = Papa, f. Tumu-te-ana-oa, f. Tinirau, m. Raka, m. Tango, m. Tu-metua, f.

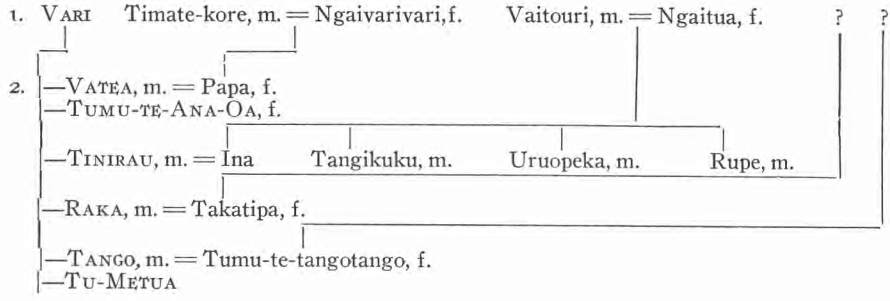
3. Tangaroa, m. Rongo, m. = Taka, f. Tongaiti, m. Tane-papa-kai, m. Tangiia, m. Te-ra-kura-i-iti, f.

4. Tavake, f. = (Rongo), m.

5. Rangi, m. Te Akatauira, m. Moko, m. Te Etu, m. Te Mata-o-Tangaroa, m.

The first generation comprises the four spirits, who, though at varying distances away in space, are co-existent. The distances give the order in which they are placed to express the Mangaian concept of the factors that precede human life. They are the Threadlike-root, Breath, Sustained-breath, and Material-in-which-growth-may-take place. As compared with other Polynesian cosmogonies, which include aeons of time and dimensions of space before plant growth and human growth are reached, the Mangaian version is extremely simple. The peculiarities of the Mangaian account can be better followed by grouping the characters into the five generations, as in table 2.

Table 2.—Contemporaries in the First Five Generations



	(Vatea)	(Tinirau)	(Raka)	(Tango)
3.	TANGAROA, m.	Koro-tuki-akau, m.	Tu-matangi-rua, m.	Tuoro-pekapeka, m.
	RONGO, m.	Koro-mau-ariki, m.	Mama-tuitui-roroa, m.	Atu, m.
	TONGA-ITI, m.	Matonga, m.	Takanga, f.	Rauei, f.
	TANE-PAPA-KAI, m.	Ature, f.		
	TANGIIA, m.			
	TE-RA-KURA-I-ITI, f.			

	(Rongo)			(Atu)
4.	TAVAKE, f.	?	?	Aketoa, m.
				Makona, m.
				Tutu-mai-tonga, m.
				Tutu-mai-tokerau, m.
				Maututu, m.
				Mautake, m.

	(Tavake)
5.	RANGI, m.
	TE AKATAUIRA, m.
	MOKO, m.
	TE ETU, m.
	TE-MATA-O-TANGAROA, m.

In the second generation, Vari produced six children who had no father. Yet both Vatea and Tinirau married women whose fathers and mothers are given. These married couples were, therefore, contemporaries of Vari, and Vari's daughters-in-law came into the world through physiological reproduction. Similarly, both Raka and Tango married women whose parents, though not given, must have been contemporaries of Vari. The Mangaians are derived from a primary concept, personified in Vari, by a process of plant growth; the anomaly is that Vari had contemporaries who produced biological families. Vatea and Papa appear as primary parents in other parts of Polynesia. Tinirau is also well known, but in the more carefully kept genealogies of other areas he does not appear until a considerable time after Vatea.

In the third generation the well-known gods Tangaroa, Rongo, and Tane are born of Vatea and Papa. This part of the account is orthodox and widely spread. Tinirau, however, becomes an uncle to the gods instead of living several generations later. The god Tonga-iti occurs in Rarotonga and may be accepted as in his correct chronology. Tangiia, however, occupies a unique position as a full brother of Tangaroa, Tane, and Rongo. Tangiia as a god does not occur elsewhere, except in Rarotonga, where he represents an ancestor who was made a god after his death. This Tangiia lived about 26 generations ago and was never confused as a son of Vatea. It is thus evident that Tangiia is another local misplacement. The children of Tinirau, Raka, and Tango are all made contemporaries of Rongo and his brothers. Human population was increasing in the other lands of Avaiki when the ancestors of the Mangaians were still in the god stage.

In the fourth generation is Rongo's daughter, Tavake. Her second cousins who descended through Tango were skilled fishermen using nets and stocking the fishponds of Motu-tapu.

The fifth generation brings the genealogy to the human ancestors who were to occupy Mangaia. In the more authentic myths and traditions of other Polynesians the god Rongo and his brothers are placed at a fairly remote period. Following the mythological period is an exploratory or migrational period occupied by movements in the great voyaging canoes to various islands in the Pacific. This period in most accounts covers several generations—as many as 60 in Rarotongan traditional history—and among the ancestral names are those of such culture heroes as Maui and Tinirau and such famous explorers as Iro and Tangiia. In the Mangaian account the exploratory voyaging period is missing, and the length of time from the god Rongo to the human first settlers is reduced to two generations.

HISTORY

GENEALOGICAL RECORD

The family pedigrees characteristic of Polynesia are of much greater value in tracing a chronological record than are the lists of title holders which have sometimes been used. The value of lists is impaired because tenure of office is generally much more variable than the duration of life from birth to reproduction covered in a family pedigree, and also because of the probability that some titleholders in a list have not produced male issue but have passed the title on to brothers or uncles. A disturbed chronology of generations is not indicated in lists as it is in full family pedigrees.

The time value of a generation in a pedigree is variable, however, extending as it does between the first-born and the youngest of a large family and depending upon whether the mother was a first wife or a later wife married when her husband was approaching old age. The Polynesian Society has decided on 25 years as an average duration for one generation as a working hypothesis in establishing a chronology. It will serve until something better can be devised.

It is unfortunate that Gill did not obtain some Mangaian family pedigrees while the old men who had seen premissionary days were alive. From Mamae's manuscript, however, I was allowed to copy out the family pedigrees of the Ngati-Vara tribe. I made attempts to secure genealogies from the other tribes without success, and I was assured by my two reliable informants that they did not exist. Table 3 gives a Ngati-Vara pedigree with the wives from Papaaunuku down. I possess other details regarding plural wives and total offspring in each generation, with their marriages. Because of such details, the pedigree must be as authentic as any Polynesian pedigree can be.

The first six generations from Papaaunuku to Mautara in Table 3 form a doubtful period, the length of which is supported by the list of the priests of Tane. Turuia, the first priest of Tane, landed in Mangaia during Rangi's time. Te Vaki, the sixth priest of Tane, was a contemporary of Mautara, the sixth priest of Motoro. From Mautara down, the number of families recorded in the Ngati-Vara genealogies is numerous enough to give an authentic average of generations. An interesting check on the time is provided by Koroa in the 9th generation and his descendant, Tauapepe. Koroa, who was one of those who went out in canoes to barter with Captain Cook's ship in 1777, was a grown man in authority at the time of Cook's visit, and his son Tauapepe had been born. The time from Tauapepe in the 10th generation to Tauapepe in the 14th generation includes five generations, which, at 25

Table 3.—Genealogy of the Ngati-Vara tribe

1. Papaaunuku,[a] m. = Te Rangi-tia, f.
2. Vara,[b] m. = Tonganui, f.
3. Te Rau, m. = Uitau, f.
4. Paeke, m. = Amo, f.
5. Akunukunu, m. = Kura-peau, f.
6. Mautara,[c] m. = Te Ko, f.

7. 2. Raumea, m. = Pee-reka, f.	3. Ikoke, m. = Pee-reka, f.
8. Te Maru, m. = Te Kera, f.	Potiki, m. = Tiraa-roa, f.
9. Rautaiki, m. = Taura, f.	Koroa[d], m.=Ruru-nga-pu, f. (1777)
10. Tuka, m. = Amama, f.	Taua-pepe, m. = Rou, f.
11. Tereavai, m. = Tangi, f.	Koroa-iti,[e] m. = Aravao, f.
12. Akaea-kore, m. = Uneara, f.	Aiteina,[f] m. = Matoteki, f.
13. Eketa, f. = Kakao, m.	Mamae, m. =
14. Vaa-kai-tamaki, f. Akaea-kore,[g] m.	Taua-pepe, m.

15. Vaevae-ongo, f.
16. Vaevae, f.
17. Aumetua (age 3 in 1929)

[a] Papaaunuku, first priest of Motoro and contemporary of Rangi. [b] Vara, the eponymous ancestor from which the tribe derived its name of Ngati-Vara. [c] Mautara, the great military dictator and priest of Motoro. [d] Koroa, dictator and bard of the Ngati-Vara, many of whose songs were recorded by Gill. [e] Koroa-iti, whose other names were Mamae and Sadaraka, pastor of the church, Gill's chief informant, and writer of the manuscript used in this work. [f] Aiteina, retired pastor, and my chief informant, still living and about 80 years of age in 1929. [g] Akaeakore, pastor at Ivirua, and my second chief informant, still living and more than 50 years of age in 1929, a Ngati-Vara on the female side through his mother, and has no children.

years a generation, totals 125 years. The period of 125 years added to 1777 gives the year 1900, in which Tauapepe, the second, lived as a young adult. The period of occupation from Papaaunuku to the year 1900, or thereabouts, is 16 generations to Vaevae through Raumea (7th generation) and 14 generations to Tauapepe through the younger brother Ikoke (7th generation).

A genealogy (Table 4) obtained from Akeakore gives his male descent in the Akatauira tribe. It is not so convincing, for there is repetition of names and the wives of the earlier generations are not remembered.

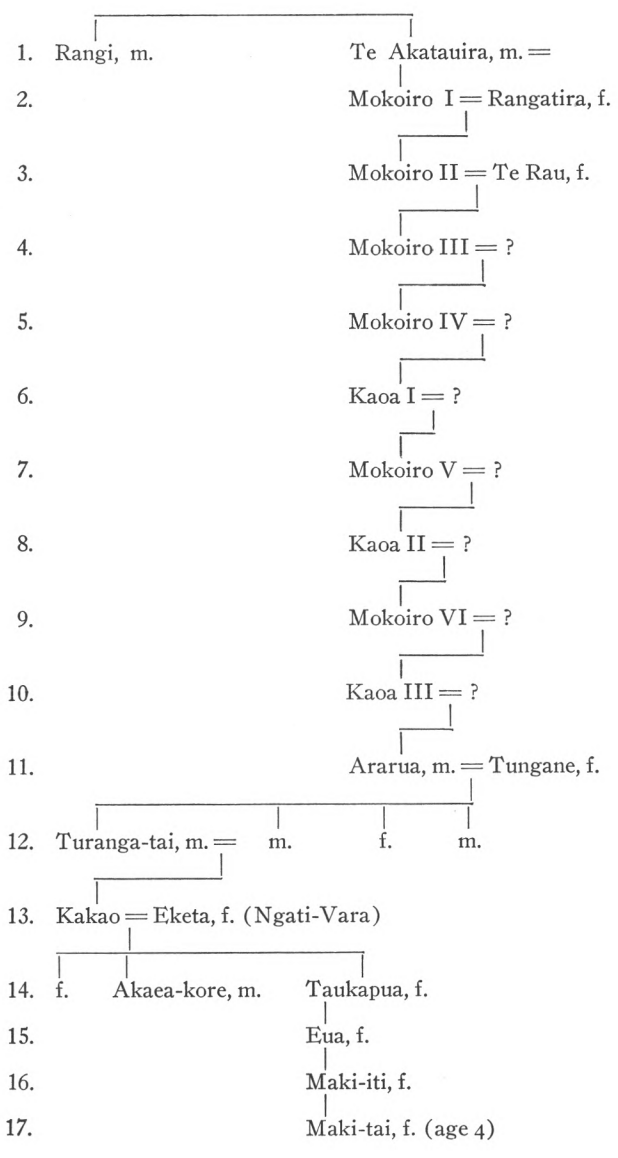
Through a sister of Akaeakore the genealogy in Table 4 works out at 16 generations to 1900. Of the number of Ngati-Vara pedigrees examined, none exceeded 16 generations. Allowing 25 years to a generation, the period of occupation to 1900 is only 400 years. Even allowing an extra 50 years for good measure, the date of the first settlement is only put back from the year 1500 to 1450. Gill (7, pp. 24, 25), using lists of priests, not pedigrees, figures the period of occupation in Mangaia at 450 years. Though he does not say from what date the 450 years are to be taken, it is obvious that, as the offices of the priests were abolished by the acceptance of Christianity, they must be referred to about the same date as in Rarotonga.

Between the settlement of Rangi on Mangaia and the time of Tangiia on Rarotonga there is a gap of 200 years. Gill (10, p. 627), in attempting to settle the length of occupation of Rarotonga and Mangaia, states that when the missionary, John Williams, landed in Rarotonga in 1823, Makea Pori was the 29th of his family. Gill points out, however, that as collaterals had ruled, there had been, strictly speaking, only 24 Makeas in direct lineal descent from the first Makea Karika (contemporary of Tangiia) to Makea Pori. He allowed 25 years to each Makea, which indicates a period of occupation of 600 years (or possibly 625) to 1823 in Rarotonga. This places Makea Karika's advent in Rarotonga somewhere between the years 1200 and 1223. Smith (19, p. 234), working with other pedigrees, places Tangiia in the 26th generation from 1900. As he also uses 25 years to a generation, the period covered is 650 years, and Tangiia is placed in Rarotonga in about 1250. These dates are close enough for practical purposes. They throw light on the history of Mangaia, whose records state that Tangiia of Rarotonga and Rangi of Mangaia were contemporaries.

THE NGARIKI TRIBE

The myths and traditional narratives of Mangaia are confusing because of the short genealogical lines covering the settlement period, the emergence of the first human settlers from an underworld without canoe transport, and the immediate divine origin of the Ngariki chiefs as the sons of the god Rongo. The traditional statement that Rangi, the Ngariki chief, was a con-

Table 4.—Genealogy of the Akatauira Tribe


1. Rangi, m.
Te Akatauira, m. =
2. Mokoiro I = Rangatira, f.
3. Mokoiro II = Te Rau, f.
4. Mokoiro III = ?
5. Mokoiro IV = ?
6. Kaoa I = ?
7. Mokoiro V = ?
8. Kaoa II = ?
9. Mokoiro VI = ?
10. Kaoa III = ?
11. Ararua, m. = Tungane, f.
12. Turanga-tai, m. = m. f. m.
13. Kakao = Eketa, f. (Ngati-Vara)
14. f. Akaea-kore, m. Taukapua, f.
15. Eua, f.
16. Maki-iti, f.
17. Maki-tai, f. (age 4)

temporary of Tangiia, who settled in Rarotonga in 1250, cannot be accepted as correct. A solution to the Mangaian departures from orthodox Polynesian traditional lore is to be sought in the true origin of the Ngariki settlers.

The Ngariki, after landing in Mangaia, were faced with the intellectual problem of accounting for themselves to posterity. It would be absurd to think that any Polynesian group as late as the year 1450 could have forgotten the human genealogies of their leaders, the island whence they came to Mangaia, and a human narrative covering some period of their stay in that land. Yet these features have been concealed by mythical explanations which depart from the orthodox Polynesian technique.

The Mangaian historians stated that the brothers Rangi, Akatauira, and Mokoiro were the sons of Rongo. The divine origin of chiefs is an orthodox Polynesian technique; but between the divine origin and the time of settlement should extend a long period bridged by a pedigree which, for a number of the later generations, is human. The Mangaian version is thus unorthodox.

The only explanation reconcilable with Polynesian psychology is that the human pedigree is not illustrious enough to give initial prestige to a people who were making a new start in life. The new school, therefore, made their leaders the sons of the god Rongo to give them the aristocracy of divine origin and, at the same time, to remove the evidence of what might have been a plebeian ancestry. The new teachers could not have had a high scholastic attainment, or from a wider knowledge they would have lengthened the period between Rongo and their chiefs. With their limited knowledge they took a short cut regardless of or perhaps not realizing the fact that their technique could not withstand criticism in the years to come. The technique of the Mangaian school, however, may not be so crude as it seems at first sight. The method of placing Rongo and his human sons in the spiritual land of Auau in the underworld of Avaiki effectively disposed of the island whence they came. The immediate divine origin also obviated the necessity for recording a previous earthly sojourn that might have been embarrassing to the prestige that every Polynesian colony desires.

The question of the immediate island of origin of the Mangaians must be considered. Gill (6, p. 166), for linguistic reasons, identified the Mangaian Avaiki as Savaii in Samoa and held that the Ngariki came from Savaii to Mangaia. Too much stress has been laid on Savaii because the name is the present appellation of that island. The fact that Hawaii (Avaiki) was the old name of Raiatea in the Society Islands is often overlooked, and many of the historical incidents connected with Avaiki would be more correctly associated with Raiatea than with Savaii. A cultural feature showing affinity between Mangaia and Samoa is the game of pitching discs (*tupe*). Both

areas use the term *tupe,* the number of discs is five, and the principles of playing and scoring are the same. Minor details differ. The Samoans pitch to the ends of a single long narrow strip of hala matting, and the discs are made of coconut shell. The Mangaians pitch onto two separate small mats of coconut leaf, and the discs are made of wood. So far as I know, the *tupe* game has been described only for Mangaia in eastern Polynesia. As against this one cultural element, there are several reasons for connecting the Ngariki ancestors more closely with the near-by island of Rarotonga.

First, there are Vatea and Papa with their children Tangaroa, Rongo, Tane, and Tongaiti. This mythological family occurs in Rarotonga and other parts of eastern Polynesia, but not in Samoa. The historical tradition concerning Tangiia and the theological fact that his son Motoro was accepted as the tribal god of the Ngariki directly connect the Ngariki ancestors with Rarotonga. As Rangi and his brothers belonged to a period two centuries later than that of Tangiia, Rangi could not have sent over to Rarotonga to ask Tangiia for his son as a god. The anomaly of Rangi's knowing so much about Rarotonga after his emergence from the underworld is dispersed if it is inferred that the Ngariki settlers came from Rarotonga to Mangaia and brought their god Motoro and the memory of Tangiia with them. The association of the Ngariki with Tangiia is intimate, and a possible explanation is to be found in the Rarotongan traditions concerning Tangiia.

Tangiia was a chief in Tahiti. When he went to settle in Rarotonga, he had a number of groups of people with him. To provide a chief for these groups, Tangiia asked Iro, a contemporary explorer, for his son Tai-te-ariki. Tangiia renamed his adopted son Te-ariki-upoko-tini (The-chiefly-head-of-many). The *tini* (many or thousands) referred to the groups of people that Tangiia brought from Tahiti. In a manuscript in the possession of Kainuku-ariki of Rarotonga, the group of people is referred to as follows:

E varu tu tangata i runga i te vaka o Tangiia. Teia nga tu tangata. (There were eight kinds of people on the canoe of Tangiia. These were the kinds).

1. Ko te Kakipoto
2. Ko te Raetiki
3. Ko te Ne'epoto
4. Ko te Ataatapua
5. Ko te Tatavere
6. Ko te Vakevake
7. Ko te Kairira (Kairia)
8. Ko te Mangaia

In the list of groups (tribes probably), the last is the Mangaia. In a list obtained from another manuscript, the name Manaune replaces Mangaia. The name Manahune was applied in Tahiti to the early Polynesian inhabitants. At a later period, certain families became dominant, secured the government, and established the ruling *arii* families. Tangiia belonged to an *arii* family, and it is evident that for the settlement of Rarotonga he supplemented his own family followers and chiefs with recruits from the older

inhabitants of Tahiti. In the subsequent development in Rarotonga, the "eight kinds of people" were merged in the population. The positions of chiefs and priests were conferred on the people of rank who accompanied Tangiia, and the offices became hereditary. The Mangaia or Manaune groups had no chance of rising in the social scale. My belief is that after about two centuries of repressed life in Rarotonga, members of these groups migrated to Mangaia under the leadership of Rangi and his brothers. In Mangaia they commenced life afresh. With the broken threads of myth and tradition with which they were conversant they built up a new story of their origin. Their reaction was one of antagonism toward Rarotonga. They concealed their own origin in that land by inventing an origin from a spiritual Auau in the underworld of Avaiki. They could not come from an earthly Avaiki without passing through Rarotonga, hence the deliberate suppression of the truth.

Tangaroa was the principal god of the ruling classes in Rarotonga. The Ngariki myth builders, therefore, must have derived considerable satisfaction in supplanting Tangaroa by Rongo, even to the details of the greater share of food and the taking of Tangaroa's wife. The means by which Tangaroa was belittled in favor of Rongo, because their mother Papa could not eat with the first-born, is ingenious. A reason was also provided for Tangaroa's leaving and so ceasing to be actively worshiped. Rongo, having been elevated to the most important position in the pantheon, was also given the new position of war god; and two hereditary high priesthoods were instituted. Tangiia in Rarotonga had been apotheosized 200 years before the advent to Mangaia. Tangiia had been their first protector and chief, so in gratitude and to enrich the local mythology he was raised to the position of brother to Rongo and son of the primary parents, Vatea and Papa.

Motoro, son of Tangiia, may perhaps have been deified by the Ngariki ancestors in Rarotonga, but for the purposes of the concealment mechanism he had to be sent for.

Other subterfuges were: making Tangiia and Rangi contemporaries; details of a voyage that never took place; the extra brothers of Motoro not known in Rarotonga; and the incidents surrounding the possession of Papaaunuku, the first priest of Motoro.

The divine descent of the three leaders was decided upon. They were made ariki (chiefs), and what had been denied them in Rarotonga was placed beyond all cavil by the descendants' assumption of the group name of Ngariki (The-high-chiefs). The short-circuiting of history resulted in complications. Tinirau and other traditional characters could not very well be made brothers of Rongo, so they were relegated to the earlier family of Vari and became brothers of Vatea. The contradictions were ignored, and

all scattered scraps of myth and tradition that were remembered were conveniently stuffed into the underworld of Avaiki. In spite of the concealment plan adopted, the Ngariki compilers of myth and history, by the very material they used, have indicated clearly enough to the student of comparative mythology and religion that Rarotonga was the island whence the Ngariki came.

Some significant Rarotongan contacts could not be disposed of, for instance, the origin of Tui, the first Shore High Priest of Rongo. The Mangaian historians do not state why Tui should have shared the authority with Rangi. The most logical explanation is that Rangi and Tui came from Rarotonga together, and that Rangi had to share authority with his colleague. It was the necessity for sharing the authority that probably led to the creation of two high priesthoods of Rongo instead of one. The prejudice against Rarotonga seems to have been perpetuated in the disparaging attitude toward the Ngati-Amai tribe, who came later in voyaging canoes (*no te pa'i mai*) from Rarotonga.

The association of Mangaia with the older Polynesians is also supported to some extent by the presence of Manaune as a tribal name. Though the name was derived from a fairly recent ancestor named Manaune, the fact that such a personal name was used infers some memory of an ancestral use of the name. Handy (13, p. 7), in distinguishing between Old Tahitian and Arii culture, lists plaiting with the Arii and carving with the Old Tahitian. It is interesting to note that the Ngariki, whom we have associated with the Old Tahitians of Handy, did not plait floor mats or sleeping mats of hala, but used bark cloth as sleeping covers. This forms a marked contrast to the other Cook Islands, in which the plaiting of sleeping mats in hala material reached a higher standard than in Tahiti. Carving, which was well developed in one direction, was not a Ngariki art but was introduced at a later period from Tahiti. Unfortunately, we cannot obtain in Mangaia a clear picture of the older culture, for the Ngariki ancestors had been for two centuries in contact with Rarotongans and the later Ngati-Tane and Tongaiti immigrants must have added new elements to Mangaian culture.

Evidence has been adduced of the comparatively late rationalization that took place in Mangaia with regard to myth and tradition. Although interesting as showing the working of the minds of the early historians, the results cannot have the same value for comparative studies as the myths and traditions of older Polynesian schools.

In the historical narrative to follow will be seen the valiant attempt of the Ngariki to maintain their temporal supremacy on the island. They kept it long enough to impose some of their institutions on later immigrants and to have them adopted in the national pattern. Thus Rongo became the

national god served by all tribes. The positions of High Priests to Rongo, through early usage, became established as hereditary positions held within the Ngariki tribe. Later comers evidently accepted the divine origin of the Ngariki ancestors and so could not interfere with the succession and ritual established by the Ngariki in connection with Rongo. The Ngariki immunity from providing victims for sacrifice was also a victory. Their fictitious divine descent thus stood them in good stead.

The history of Mangaia illustrates the attempt of the Ngariki to keep the position of Temporal Lord of Mangaia within their own tribe, and their ultimate failure through the ambition of the warlike Tongaiti. Once precedent was broken down in this direction, the hope of establishing a hereditary ariki with temporal power over the whole island vanished. The principle that temporal power was the reward of war and not of hereditary descent led to frequent changes of secular government and offers a marked contrast to the social organization of Rarotonga, where secular power remained in the hands of the ariki families and succession was hereditary.

TEMPORAL LORD OF MANGAIA

The leader of a war party, by securing the victory, was said to have acquired the *mangaia* (temporal power). As Temporal Lord of the island of Mangaia, he was the equivalent of a military dictator, and his power was passed on, not through hereditary succession, but through defeat in war. Each battle led to a confirmation or change of the Temporal Lord. The victor, if he let the office go to someone else for political or other reasons, remained as the military support (*toko*) of the Temporal Lord.

The list of Temporal Lords and the battles through which they came into power (Table 5) is slightly altered from that of Gill (12, pp. 308-311) in the placing of the ninth and tenth battles, and adds the names of the tribes to which the Temporal Lords belonged.

The office of Temporal Lord, which started in the Ngariki tribe with a tendency to become hereditary in that tribe, through their successive defeats became an open position to be won by success in war.

It is evident that after the second battle when the office passed to Te-akatauira, a brother of Rangi—though Mata-tau-kiu as leader of the Tui-kura tribe was the real victor—the Ngariki regarded the office as one to be held by them and not by the real military leader. After the third battle the office passed to Vaeruarangi, a son of Mokoiro, so that all three families of the Ngariki enjoyed office in turn. In the fourth battle, Amu, the Ruler of Food, was victor, but he allowed the office to be held by another member of the Ngariki. In the fifth battle Te-ao as victor took office as Temporal Lord. In the sixth, seventh, and eighth battles, Tirango of the Tongaiti tribe was the real victor as head of the combined forces, but the Ngariki kept the office to themselves. After the treacherous massacres that followed, the two Ngariki chiefs responsible for organizing the destruction of Ngati-Tane took office. The eleventh battle was won by a Ngariki,

Table 5.—Temporal Lords of Mangaia

Battle	Victors		Vanquished		Installed Lord of Mangaia	
	Leader	Tribe	Leader	Tribe	Person	Tribe
Te-rua-nonianga	Rangi	Ngariki		Tongaiti	Rangi	Ngariki
Tangi-kura	Rangi-Tamatapu	Tui-kura	Ivi-tu	Ngati-Tane	Te-akatauira	Ngariki
Rua-matangi	Moke	Ngariki?	Katea-te-oru	Rarotongan	Vaeruarangi	Ngariki
Iotepui	Amu	Ngariki?	Toapini	Aitutakian	Teina-o-vatea	Ngariki
Ikuruaka	Te-aio	Ngariki?	Matatia	Atiuan	Te-aio	Ngariki
Parainui	Tirango	Tongaiti and Ngariki		Te-kama	?	Ngariki
Rangiue	Tirango	Tongaiti and Ngariki		Te-kama	?	Ngariki
Areutu	Tirango	Tongaiti and Ngariki		Te-kama	?	Ngariki
Tutaeuu, Putoa (First oven)	Ungakute	Ngariki		Ngati-Tane	Ungakute	Ngariki
Angaitu (Second oven)	Kaveutu	Ngariki		Ngati-Tane	Kaveutu	Ngariki
Vaikakau (Maungarua)	Ruariki	Ngariki	Tirango	Tongaiti	Te-nau	Ngariki
Taaonga	One	Tongaiti	Ruaika	Ngariki	One	Tongaiti
Kumekume	One Panako	Tongaiti Akarauira	Vete	Vaeruarangi	Panako I	Akatauira
Kouramaiti	One	Akarauira	Mokora	Te-Kama	Panako II	Akatauira
Tepapa	One	Akarauira	Kotaa	Te-Kama	Panako III	Akatauira
Te-rua-kere-tonga	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Ruaika	Ngariki	Ngauta I	Tongaiti
Arakoa	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Tata Panako	Akatauira	Ngauta and Taia Ngauta II	Tongaiti
Auruia	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Maruataiti	Teipe	Ngauta III	Tongaiti
Iotepui	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Motuoro	Akatauira	Ngauta IV	Tongaiti
Punanga	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Tiauru	Tuma (N)	Ngauta V	Tongaiti
Te-rua-nonianga	Ngauta	Tongaiti		Ngariki	Ngauta VI	Tongaiti
Ikuari	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Arepee	Teipe	Terea (consent of Ngauta)	Tongaiti
Murders by slaves	Ngangati	Ngariki	Ngauta	Tongaiti	Tuinui (consent of Ngangati)	Ngariki
Maueue	Tauii	Ngariki	Arekare	Tongaiti Ngariki Teipe	Tauii	Ngariki
Ariki (1st)	Ngangati	Ngariki	Namu	Vaeruarangi	Ngangati I	Ngariki
Ariki (2d)	Ngangati	Ngariki		Tangiia	Ngangati II	Ngariki
Ariki (3d)	Ngangati	Ngariki		Kanae	Ngangati III	Ngariki
Te-au-papa (1st)	Ngangati	Ngariki	Kotuku	Tongaiti	Ngangati IV	Ngariki
Te-au-papa (2d)	Ngangati	Ngariki	Kaoa	Vaeruarangi	Ngangati V	Ngariki
Aua	Akatara	Ngariki	Ngangati	Ngariki	Akatara	Ngariki
Tapatiu	Te-uanuku	Sons of Mautara	Akatara	Ngariki	Not conferred	
Arira	Te-uanuku	Ngati-Vara		Tuokura Teipe	Te-uanuku I	Ngati-Vara
Pukuotoi	Te-uanuku	Ngati-Vara	Ruanae	Ngariki ?	Te-uanuku II	Ngati-Vara
Aua	Mautara	Ngati-Vara	Raei	Ngariki Tongaiti	Mautara	Ngati-Vara
Tuopapa	Potiki	Ngati-Vara		Ngati-amai	Uarau	Ngati-Amai
Seized without battle					Ngara	Ngati-Vara
Teopu	Kirikovi	Ngati-Vara	Tongia	Tongaiti	Kirikovi	Ngariki
Taukuara	Pai	?	Kirikovi	?	Pai	Ngariki
Akaoro	Potiki	Ngati-Vara	Potai	Ngariki	Potiki Marokore	Ngati-Vara
Seized without battle						
Teatuapai	Koroa	Ngati-Vara	Marokore	Ngati-Vara	Koroa	Ngati-Vara
Rangiura	Makitaka	Ngati-Vara	Koroa	Ngati-Vara	Makitaka	Ngati-Vara
Seized without battle					Pangemiro I	Manaune
Araeva	Pangemiro	Manaune Ngati-Tane	Makitaka	Ngati-Vara	Pangemiro II Pangemiro III	Manaune Manaune
Putoa	Numangatini	Christian	Tereavai	Ngati-Vara	Numangatini	Ngariki

but he passed the office of Temporal Lord over to a fellow tribesman as he himself held the office of Inland High Priest. Thus for eleven battles the office was apparently considered hereditary and was held by the Ngariki.

In the twelfth battle One obtained revenge for the death of Tirango and evidently took office, though belonging to the Tongaiti tribe. Evidently One was not altogether sure of the right of anyone outside the Ngariki to keep the *mangaia*. He became allied with Panako of the Akatauira division of the Ngariki and relinquished the *mangaia* to him. In three battles he acted as Panako's military support. Then commenced a series of victories by the Tongaiti under Ngauta. Ngauta felt that Panako had been holding office on the sufferance of the Tongaiti. When he succeeded his uncle One, he determined to enjoy the fruits of victory himself and in spite of the attempts of the Ngariki held the office six times. The principle that victors should enjoy the *mangaia* by holding office thus became established.

Three times the office passed without bloodshed because the people were dissatisfied with the Temporal Lord. Thus Ngara took the office from Uarau, Marokore from Potiki, and Pangemiro from Makitaka.

INTERTRIBAL STRIFE

Advent of the Tongaiti

During the period of Rangi a fleet of canoes containing a people termed Tongaiti-akareva-moana (Tongaiti-sailing-over-the-seas) landed on the south side of the island at Tamarua. The newcomers were guided by a priest, Te Ao-roa (The Long-line), so named because during the voyage be held in his hand a vast ball of string which he payed out as the canoe sailed. He had just reached the end of the line when the canoe made Mangaia. Presumably he would have worked back along the line had he not discovered land. It was held that the ocean was smooth in those days, and the roughness of after ages was due to the shedding of blood and ceaseless wars which disturbed the balance of the elements. Te Ao-roa was the first high priest of the god Turaenga. Another member of the immigrant group was a chief named Te Tipi, the founder of the Tongaiti tribe.

The Tongaiti people brought with them the toa or ironwood tree (*Casuarina*) and the miro (*Thespesia populnea*). They made clubs from the ironwood, were very warlike, and soon attempted to take possession of the entire island by engaging the Ngariki in battle. The Ngariki reinforced their troops with warriors from the underworld, or, as Gill (6, p. 287) quotes moderns as interpreting it, they were reinforced by a reserve force hidden behind the rocks. The small force of Ngariki at first apparently deceived the Tongaiti and defeated them. The fugitives fled to the south, where they took refuge in the cave of Tautua. Three of the Ngariki were killed, from which was established, according to Gill (6, p. 288) "the ancient doctrine (*ara taonga*) that victory and chieftainship of all degrees can only be secured by first shedding the blood of some of the victorious party, so as to secure the favor of Rongo, the arbiter of the destinies of war." The

battle was fought at Te-rua-nonianga, in the Keia district. (See Table 5.) Vaioeve, a fugitive from the battle, was overtaken and slain. He was offered as a sacrifice to Rongo, and thus was established the custom of offering a human sacrifice to Rongo after every battle before peace could be cemented. Peace having been made, Rangi consented to the Tongaiti tribe's permanently occupying the southern part of the island where they had landed. The Tongaiti developed into a strong, warlike tribe. Their headquarters were at Tamarua, and the principal marae upon which they worshiped their god, Turenga, was Aumoana.

Gill (6, p. 287) alludes to the newcomers as driftaways from Tonga, but he had nothing to support this statement except the presence of the word Tonga in Tongaiti. Tongaiti has been shown to be the third son of Vatea and Papa, thus a younger brother of Rongo. In the distribution of property by Vatea among his five sons, Tongaiti was awarded bravery and military enterprise. As the Tongaiti were looked upon as the possessors of these qualities and the most stubborn fighters in Mangaia, there was an implied association between the Tongaiti tribe and the god Tongaiti. Tongaiti, the god, is not a projection back from the tribe, for he is established in the Rarotongan pantheon and occurs also as Toahiti (To'ahiti) in Tahiti. Teuira Henry (14, p. 163) translates Toahiti as "Bordering-rock," under the mistaken idea that the glottal comma represents *k*, thus making the first part of the name *toka* (rock), whereas the elided consonant was *ng*. The Cook Islands form of the name shows that the *ng* was dropped in Tahitian dialect, and the Tahitian form shows that the *h* was dropped in the Cook Islands.

Coming of the Ngati-Tane

After the arrival of the Tongaiti and still in the period of Rangi, another group of voyagers arrived on the east coast from Iti (Tahiti). They were worshipers of the god Tane. Gill (12, p. 65) states that Te Rangai was the original founder of the existing tribe of Tane and that he came from Tahiti. Other chiefs of the original canoes were Vairanga, Kaki, and Mataroi, who are mentioned in the following song composed by Tuka (12, p. 59):

Kua kake te uri a Vairanga	The descendants of Vairanga arrive,
O ngati Kaki, te takina i te ra nei.	The tribe of Kaki now prosper.
Takina i te ra ia 'Iti	The sun shines upon [the people from] Tahiti,
Te ra ia Roi, ei tukirua	Upon Mataroi, despite the two attacks
I te pou ta'i o Tane e, reia.	Against the single post of Tane.

Some confusion exists as to the period of Mataroi, for he is also stated to have been companion of Ue, a much later arrival from Tahiti (12, p. 58).

Traditions from Aitutaki, Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke show that waves of

people from Tahiti descended upon the coasts of the islands and fought with the people already in occupation. In some islands they obtained a footing and became merged with the local population, but in other islands they were driven away. They are everywhere alluded to as the Aitu or Ngati-Tane, worshipers of Tane. Tahitian tradition shows that after the god Tane was superseded by Oro in Raiatea, the cult of Oro spread to Tahiti and other islands. It is probable that adherents of Tane who refused to go over to Oro migrated to the near-by Cook Islands. Aitutaki, Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke acted as an intercepting fringe to Rarotonga, and the Ngati-Tane never reached that island. The canoes of the Ngati-Tane that directed their course farther south arrived at Mangaia. Some were held to have come on to Mangaia after being driven from other islands of the Cook archipelago, upon which they had failed to establish themselves. There appear to have been three distinct incursions of Ngati-Tane people. The first wave came in the period of Rangi.

The god Tane was worshiped under a number of different names, but all worshipers of Tane were regarded as belonging to the same tribe. The Mangaian myth gives Tane-papa-kai (Tane-piler-up-of-food) as the fourth son of Vatea. It would be inconsistent to admit that this god was introduced by the newcomers from Tahiti, as he was stated to be a local production. Tane-papa-kai must have been later accepted by Ngati-Tane, for his image in ironwood was among the four forms of Tane kept in the god house. The next Tane was Tane-ngaki-au (Tane-striving-for-power), who was worshiped at the marae of Maputu by the second wave of Ngati-Tane. Gill (6, p. 30) further complicates matters by saying that Tane-ngaki-au was a brave warrior who gave important assistance to Rangi in the first battle fought against the Tongaiti at Te-rua-nonianga, and as a reward received the chieftainship of Ivirua. He was subsequently deified by his family, and the marae of Maputu was erected to him. Tane-ngaki-au must, therefore, have belonged to the Ngati-Tane visitors and, to reconcile the statements, a first wave of Ngati-Tane must have landed in Mangaia before Tongaiti fought the first battle of Te-rua-nonianga. Under what name Tane was worshiped by the first Ngati-Tane settlers is thus not apparent. The priest of Tane who accompanied the first wave from Tahiti was Turuia.

The Ngati-Tane were also known as the Aitu (God) tribe on Mangaia and on the other islands of the Cook archipelago. They evidently established themselves and conformed to the laws and customs that had been laid down by the Ngariki tribe. While still in the period of Rangi, disaster overtook the Ngati-Tane:

> Tui, the original Shore High Priest, died and was succeeded by his son Tamatapu. The Ngati-Tane, living on the east coast, prepared for a feast in honor of the gods by

fishing. In the day they were all in the sea, and at night they slept in the large cave of Te-ana-nui (Big-cave). Having caught a large turtle, custom demanded that it should be taken to the Shore High Priest, Tamatapu, at the marae of Orongo on the west coast. About a mile from the marae, the two carriers of the turtle perceived a fragrant smell and one of them made a disparaging remark about Tamatapu, little thinking that it was heard by Tamatapu, who had concealed himself on hearing approaching footsteps. The incident is mentioned by the warrior poet Koroa in one of his many death laments:

Kua 'akarongo te ariki Tamatapu,	The high-chief Tamatapu heard,
"Aua e kai i te ua i te ika,	"Why should he eat the fish, the turtle of
I te 'onu a Rongo;	Rongo;
"Kua, va'ia te 'aunga puariri paoa,	"Ah, the fragrance of sweet-scented flowers comes,
No taua tae ra."	From that fool."

Tamatapu in a towering rage went to his mother's tribe, Te Tui-kura (The Red-marked), in the southwest where they resided. He called them together with his triton shell trumpet and told of the insult. With candlenut torches concealed in scooped-out green calabashes, a war party under the warrior chief, Matataukiu, set out at night for Te-ana-nui to slay the Ngati-Tane. In passing through the district of Tavaenga they slew Turuia, the priest of Tane, by clubbing him in his sleep. This was the propitiatory offering to Rongo to insure success, and the next day the victim was laid on the marae of Rongo. In the district of Karanga they slew two more chiefs of the Ngati-Tane. The cave of Te-ana-nui was blockaded and the Ngati-Tane within slaughtered. One man, Papakea, escaped from the cave but was killed on the reef. Another named Te-rua-tonga obtained exit through a hole in the roof, and the guard, recognizing him as an old friend, allowed him to escape. This massacre was looked upon as a surprise and not counted as a battle. The details are given by Gill (12, pp. 17-23).

The remnants of the Ngati-Tane and a number of friends were gathered together by Ivi-tu, a nephew of Rangi. To the number of 140, they gave battle to Matataukiu and Tamatapu at Tangikura in the Veitatei district. The leader and most of the warriors were killed and the first wave of Ngati-Tane almost annihilated. Two fugitives, Te-moa-akaui and his son, Uri-ite-pito-kura, escaped to the makatea in Tavaenga. Their history is related by Gill (12, pp. 24-31). Tangikura constituted the third battle in Mangaian annals (Table 5). The victors are bracketed in the records as Rangi and Tamatapu. The battle constituted the first battle defeat of Ngati-Tane, but the tribe was later reinforced by fresh arrivals from Tahiti.

Rarotongan Invasion

Evidently after Rangi's death but while Papaaunuku, the first priest of Motoro, was still alive, a fleet of double canoes containing 200 warriors led by Kateateoru arrived from Rarotonga. They landed on the west coast at a place named Avarua after the place in their own island from which they came. They lived peacefully at first but later killed a man named Tepuvai, who Gill (12, p. 34) states was the third king of Mangaia. The name does not appear in any of the lists of "kings" given by Gill. The mythical element once more appears in the story of Moke (12, pp. 32-38):

Moke was the illegitimate son of Tavare, who slept between the months corresponding to July (Pipiri) and February. He was born at Ukuroi in one of the sequestered valleys and was swept by a freshet into Lake Tiriara and the subterranean passage under the makatea by which Tiriara flows through to the sea. Tumu-te-ana-oa, the personification of echoes, reared him and finally allowed him to drift out into the sea. His mother Tavare, happening to be on the reef in her wakeful period, saved him and brought him up on fish and other food until he became a giant 60 feet high. Moke, under the guise of friendship, led the Rarotongans into an ambuscade in a taro swamp in the Tamarua district. Twenty Mangaians were killed, but all the Rarotongans perished except their leader, Kateateoru, who was allowed to escape to carry back the fame of Moke to his own land.

Kateateoru reached Rarotonga alone in a double canoe and fitted out a second expedition. Among the warriors was Te-ua-o-pokere, a giant only 30 feet high. Moke built a fortification of rough stones on the hill opposite the Avarua landing place. He cleared the hillside and lopped off the undergrowth to the height of ordinary men. The stumps he dressed up with cloth to look like men of an army with spears poised in their hands. The Rarotongan fleet duly appeared, guided to the landing place by Kateateoru. The appearance of the huge army reinforced by men moving about deceived the Rarotongans and made them hesitate to land. Meanwhile Moke, who had submerged himself in the sea outside the reef, emerged and stepped onto the reef. The sight of his gigantic form caused terror, and the fleet turned and sailed straight back to Rarotonga. Moke threw some pieces of rock at them which fell on the reef. They are still pointed out as Moke's missiles and, according to Gill (12, p. 37), weigh about 20 tons each. "Moke is said to have charged Amu, the fourth king, to dispatch all strangers on landing."

Moke figures as the third virtual Lord of Mangaia, and Amu comes third on the list of Rulers of Food. The battle in the Tamarua district was termed Raumatangi and is the fourth on the Mangaian battle list (Table 5).

Although outsiders were supposed to be killed on landing, a later story (12, pp. 39-44) shows that a Rarotongan chief named Tairi-te-rangi came to Mangaia to pay unsuccessful court to Matakore, the daughter of Te-aio, the fifth recognized Lord of Mangaia. One Akatea-ariki of Atiu subsequently came to Mangaia in search of his father's twin kites which had blown away on a south wind.

Akatea-ariki married Matakore after having ingratiated himself in her favor by singing a song concerning the two kites. On returning, however, to Atiu with his bride, he met Tairi-te-rangi at sea, returning again to sue for the hand of Matakore. When Tairi-te-rangi saw that another had been successful, a fight ensued. The husband and wife and most of the crew were slain. Tairi-te-rangi returned to Rarotonga with the body of Matakore, which was treated with oil and kept in a marae. The members of the crew who were spared returned to Mangaia. Pukenga, an uncle of Matakore, made an expedition to Rarotonga, slew Tairi-te-rangi, and succeeded in carrying off the body of his niece.

This story shows definite communication between Rarotonga and Mangaia. In Aitutaki, however, a different story is told (23, p. 351). Tairi-te-rangi is said to be a giant from Mangaia who was slain by Pukenga, a native of Aitutaki disguised as a woman, with a sharp-pointed ironwood thatching needle concealed in a fan composed of a bunch of ti leaves. The Mangaian story is more likely, as Tairi-te-rangi is a well-known Rarotongan name.

Aitutaki Invasion

The next battle in chronological sequence was at Iotepui in the Tavaenga district (Table 5). A war party from Aitutaki under the warriors Toa-pini and Toa-rere was defeated by the Ngariki under Amu. Amu was thus the victor and real Lord of Mangaia after Moke, but the recognized holder of the title was Teina-o-Vatea, another member of the Ngariki tribe. At this time, Vara had succeeded Papaaunuku as priest of Motoro.

Atiu Invasion

In the time of Vara, second priest of Motoro, a band of warriors from Atiu were defeated by Te-aio at Iku-ruaka in the Keia district. The battle of Iku-ruaka forms the fifth in the Mangaian list, and Gill (12, p. 308) states that the people defeated were the Atiuans under Matatia. Appropriately enough, further mention is made in the song of the two kites (12, p. 44) composed by Akatea-ariki of Atiu, who came to Mangaia and married Matakore, as already related. Gill's translation and explanatory notes are as follows:

Tangi reka mai, e reira e;	Ah! soft indeed its notes;
O te pa'u i karavau	The drum which ever sounds
Na 'Akatea-ariki.	Is Akatea-ariki's.
Na'ai e rutu e - ?	Who shall beat it?
Na te mana o Mani'i kake mai ei?	Who has the skill of Manii to attempt it?

Manii, an Atiuan chief slain in Mangaia because he would not part with his beautiful breast ornament. The spot where he fell is a place of pilgrimage now to his countrymen; it is called Matatia.

The use of "Matatia" as a place name and also as a personal name is confusing. Fortunately, information gathered in Atiu prior to my visit to Mangaia throws light on this historical event. The Atiuan expedition to Mangaia was recorded in local tradition. The leaders were Te Manii-o-te-rangi, Tane-nui, and Tearo. In a song (*pe'e*) describing the death of the three chiefs, Matatia is called a battlefield:

No Te Mani'i-o-te-rangi teia pe'e:	This song is for Te-Mani'i-o-te-rangi::
Maoake tai ki te uru,	O maoake breeze from the sea,
Papa nui ki te tonga.	Bearing sad news from the south!
Nga ariki ia tokotoru e-!	The high chiefs were three, alas!
Taia ki Mangaia;	Who were killed in Mangaia;
No Atiu mai, 'akaoti noa e-!	From Atiu they came, their lives were ended, alas!
Kua 'akaoti noa i 'oki	The life was ended also
Te Mani'i-o-te-rangi e-!	Of Te-Manii-o-te-rangi, alas,
Ki te tumu koia Matatia.	At the battlefield of Matatia.

As a check on the time of the invasion, an Atiuan pedigree beginning with Tane-nui, who was killed with Te Manii-o-te-rangi, is given in Table 6.

Table 6.—Genealogy of Tane-nui of Atiu

1. Tane-nui, m. = Te-atua-a-taea, f.
2. Tane-kake-rangi, m. = Maki-kaui, f.
3. Niurau, m. = Tapuira-ariki, f.
4. Mou, m. = Mata-turu, f.
5. Tama-toa, m. = Tutoru-atua, f.
6. Te-tai-o-te-rangi, m. = Te-upoko-toka-ariki, f.
7. Kapura, m. = Pongi, f.
8. Tuarangi, m. = Te-ruringa-mata-o-Te-Rongo, f.
9. Taraiva, f. = Te-uki-tuangai, m.
10. Ake-ta'iri, f. = Tangapatoro, m.
11. Vai-uia, m. = Pui-rangi, f.
12. Akengata, f. = Poona, m.
13. Mana-ariki, m. = Te-atua-taea, f.
14. Poona II, m. = Mairi, f.
15. Kea-te-tupua,[a] m. = Te-iva-nui-o-te-marae, f.
16. Mataio,[b] m. = Tuia-te-ra,[c] f.
17. Te-tupu-ariki

[a] Holder of the Rongo-ma-tane ariki title. [b] Mataio, an adult in 1900. [c] Mataio's wife succeeded to the Ngamaru title in 1929.

Table 6 shows a pedigree on the female side (generations 9, 10, 12) of the Rongo-ma-tane ariki family. From Tane-nui to Mataio in 1900 is 16 generations. In Table 3 the corresponding period from Vara to Vaevae covers 15 generations. The two pedigrees thus check up, for a difference of one generation is of no significance. The Atiu pedigree supports the value of the Ngati-Vara pedigree as an approximately correct chronology. As the Atiuan pedigrees go back for a period of settlement antedating Tane-nui by some generations, they confirm the comparative lateness of the early settlement of Mangaia.

Te Aio, the victor in the battle of Ikuruaka, was the first to be both the real and the recognized Lord of Mangaia. After his death he was deified and later became the tribal god of the Ngati-Vara.

Ambition of the Te-kama

In the time of Te Rau, third priest of Motoro, another group of people under the name Te-kama had developed into a tribe with ambitions for temporal power. Gill (12, p. 45) states that they originally came from the Vaiiria district in Tahiti. They had first landed at Atiu but were driven off by the warlike people of that island. They came on to Mangaia and were allowed to settle in the Karanga district. Probably allied to the Ngati-Tane, they married women of the island and, having increased in numbers, began to plot for more power. They decided to accomplish by treachery what might be in doubt through number:

> The Te-kama sent out invitations to the leading men of the districts to assist them in weeding a large taro plantation named Puamata close to the inland cliffs of the makatea wall. The Te-kama were to provide a feast for their guests and the weeding was to be done by moonlight to avoid the heat of theday. Acceptance of the invitations was never in doubt. A great demonstration was made of the preparations for the feast and large numbers of coconut leaflet baskets were plaited to provide the guests with receptacles in which their shares of the feast could be carried away. The preparations were merely a blind, as the food for the guests consisted of pieces of green wood carefully wrapped in green leaves and placed in the ovens with much ostentation.
>
> The guests arrived in small parties. The Te-kama, who were weeding, received each group with expressions of joy and danced the war dance (*reru taki*) as an official welcome. During the performance they surrounded their guests and smote them on the head, at the same time drowning their death cries in the prolonged yells of the war dance. The bodies of the victims were pressed down in the soft mud of the taro patch for concealment. All went well for Te-kama until an approaching party of guests heard the death yells of some victims who had not succumbed during the war dance. Thus warned, they fled to spread the alarm, and the scheme of the Te-kama was rendered incomplete.
>
> The men of the alarmed tribes assembled the next day under Tirango, a noted warrior of Tongaiti. They attacked the expectant Te-kama where they were entrenched between taro swamps with a path of escape up the makatea cliff at their back. The Te-kama were routed, and in fleeing up the steep rocky path they threw away their heavy clubs. The survivors of the Te-kama gathered again under their leader, but, having lost their ironwood clubs, had to fashion new ones out of a softer wood (*mariri*),

owing to the need for rapid arming. They offered battle again in the Ivirua district near Putoa but were again defeated. The bad quality of their weapons is given as an excuse for the large number killed.

Again the Te-kama remnants offered battle near Maungarua, but they were outmaneuvered by another party of the enemy, which cut off their retreat while they were hotly engaged in front. The men were practically all slain. The women were spared and married into the Tongaiti tribe. The few children who survived were taken into their mother's tribe (12, p. 48).

In telling the story of Te-Kama Gill (12, pp. 45-48), calls the first engagement the "Battle of Rangiue." He lists all the battles against the Te-kama (12, p. 308), but the order and names are confusing. He gives Parainui as the sixth battle in Mangaia, in which Te-kama were defeated by Tirango. He then interpolates the slaying of Ngati-Tane at the "first oven" of men at Tutaeuu Putoa as the seventh battle, whereas in another place (12, p. 48), he states that the destruction of Te-kama took place after the first oven. He then gives Rangiue as the eighth battle and the last Te-kama battle as the ninth, fought at Areutu, in Ivirua.

In the three battles, Tirango was the leader of the combined forces of Tongaiti and Ngariki. Though he was the real military dictator who won the battles, the title of the recognized Lord of Mangaia went to a member of the ancient Ngariki tribe whose name is not recorded. The series of murders that took place at the taro swamp were not regarded as a battle, so the sixth battle termed Parainui must have been the battle next day which Gill (12, p. 47) called "Rangiue." The next battle, fought with *mariri* spears, should be the real Rangiue, the seventh battle on the Mangaian list. The final battle of Areutu is thus the eighth, and all three battles precede the first fiery oven in which the Ngati-Tane were consumed.

Recovery and Fall of the Ngati-Tane

The Ngati-Tane were not all exterminated by Matataukiu at Te-ana-nui. Those who were fortunate enough not to have slept in the cave on the night of the attack were allowed to live on in the district of Ivirua. They would not, however, have become of significance numerically had it not been for the advent of six canoes from Tahiti. The newcomers were all worshipers of the god Tane. They spread over Putoa and the district of Ivirua. It is extremely likely that Vairanga, Kaki, and Mataroi came with this second wave instead of with the first settlers in the time of Rangi. The newcomers and the remnants of the original Ngati-Tane joined together and grouped themselves under the name Aitu or Ngati-Tane. Evidently Tane-ngaki-au, the warrior who assisted Rangi against the Tongaiti, was given a chieftainship over Ivirua and was not only deified by his descendants of the first wave but was accepted by the second wave as one of the forms of Tane.

The later comers were probably influenced by the fact that Tane-ngaki-au had had local power and prestige. By accepting him, they became associated with a settlement that had preceded their own date of coming.

A leader named Pauteanua set about erecting a marae to Tane-ngaki-au. The site selected was on a low ridge just before it ran out into the low land at the base of the makatea wall in the subdistrict now known as Te-pauru-o-Rongo in the Ivirua district. The boundaries of the marae are still sharply defined by basaltic rocks firmly embedded in the ground. It is a long, narrow rectangle, the greatest length running with the line of the ridge. Measurement showed a width of 32 feet and a length of 114.5 feet on one side and 118.5 feet on the other, figures somewhat larger than those given by Gill (12, p. 50). The Mangaian marae, after having the sides and ends defined, was filled in with earth to form a low rectangular raised platform. Pauteanua, however, decided to make his marae famous by filling it in with human heads. From the account by Gill (12, pp. 49-53) it appears that

> . . . to accomplish this object, Ngati-Tane sent out raiding parties in the evening which attacked the scattered families of the other tribes, usually while they were assembled at their evening meal. Whole families were killed and their heads carried off to form the filling for the marae. No official war was declared against any particular tribe, but the raids were conducted against individual families of any tribe. A period of terror set in. Families ate their evening meal before sunset and then hid to avoid being taken by surprise. The saying spread from family to family, "Hasten our meal or the Aitu will be upon us bringing terror and death." The marae was filled in with human heads, leveled over with earth, and covered with a layer of sea gravel. It was named Maputu and dedicated to Tane-ngaki-au.

It is curious that there were no immediate reprisals on the part of the Ngariki and other tribes upon whom the capital levies had been made. Possibly there was no outstanding warrior at the time whose family had suffered. Tirango, the great warrior of the Tongaiti, was alive, but as the Tongaiti territory was in the south the Ngati-Tane raids may not have reached that far. Raids on the Ngariki would be no concern of the Tongaiti, who would be pleased at the incursions upon them.

The Ngati-Tane were probably very strong at this time. Near the Maputu marae is a marae named Taumatini which was also erected by Pauteanua to Tane-ngaki-au. Most likely, this marae was built before Maputu and served the purposes of the Ngati-Tane until their growing strength convinced them that they could wipe off old scores with their enemies by a series of raids. The building of Maputu was an excuse to enable them to carry out their plan of revenge and at the same time to add to their prestige.

Reprisals against the Ngati-Tane did not take place until some time after the building of Maputu. A treacherous scheme was devised by Ungakute, a chief of Ngariki. Taro is scarce in the dry season (July to December), when the main food is the flesh of the mature coconut and wild yams. It

was customary, during this time of scarcity, to cook the underground stems of the ti (*Cordyline terminalis*) in large ovens. Families within the tribe combined to make one large oven in which the marked bundles of the various families were cooked. Ungakute sent out invitations to a large oven (*umu ti*) for all Mangaia. The oven was dug in the Ivirua district in the midst of the homesteads of the Ngati-Tane, so that the home tribe would all be present. The oven was dug and prepared by the Ngati-Tane; according to Gill (12, p. 52), they were the proper party, descended from Tane-papa-kai (Tane-piler-up-of-food) under whom all other Tanes were grouped.

A huge oven was dug. It took a correspondingly large quantity of firewood to heat the huge basaltic stones placed on the fire. When the stones in the fiery furnace were red hot, the unburnt wood was ejected with long, forked poles of green wood. The stones were also pushed and pulled into position with the poles to form an even floor for the cooking of the ti root bundles. The stones being heated, the Ngati-Tane stood by with their poles to commence the leveling (*uru*) when the word of command should be given by Ungakute. The command had been arranged by the plotters as a signal of another nature. When Ungakute shouted, "Ka uru te umu" (Let the stones be leveled), each Ngati-Tane found himself seized by a neighbor of another tribe and hurled into the glowing pit. The plotters seized the pointed ironwood sticks used for digging the oven and, with them, beat back any who attempted to crawl out. Of the Ngati-Tane, only those who were absent from the gathering escaped death. This massacre is referred to historically as the "first oven" at Tutaeuu, Putoa. It was regarded as a battle and, as Ungakute was the leader, he was officially recognized as the War Lord of Mangaia. The women of Ngati-Tane fled to the mountain and makatea, but after the peace drum was sounded in honor of Ungakute's supremacy they returned in safety.

Some time after the first oven, a priest of Tane named Ue arrived in a double canoe from the eastern side of Taiarapu in Tahiti. An incident involving his contemporary, Marouna, is derived from Aitutaki sources.

The god of Ue was Tane-kio, and Ue set up a marae to him at Maungaroa on the southeastern side of the island. The older Ngati-Tane survivors, who worshipped Tane-ngaki-au, would not have anything to do with Tane-kio, and Ue was pushed out of the inhabited territory to the barren coast. Ue decided to leave the inhospitable island. A friend named Mataroi, belonging to the second migration of Ngati-Tane and celebrated for his skill in making stone adzes, accompanied him. They crossed the island to its western side where Ue erected another marae to Tane-kio and where a spring is still named after him.

Gill (12, p. 62) states that at this time the warrior Marouna arrived from Rarotonga seeking warriors to assist him in succoring his maternal grandfather, Tama-eva, high chief of Aitutaki, from the dominance of invaders who were over-running Aitutaki. Ue and Marouna fought together, but, being evenly matched, they made peace and became friends. Ue accompanied Marouna to Aitutaki, where, after a successful campaign, he settled down and became the progenitor of a tribe. The Mangaian story ends when Ue and Mataroi leave Mangaia.

The advent of Ue occurred, according to Gill (12, p. 56), between the two ovens that consumed the Ngati-Tane and the period of Te Rau, the third priest of Motoro. Ue, Marouna, and Te Rau were contemporaries. An Aitutakian pedigree of Marouna (Table 7), gathered in Mauke, shows his descent from Tangiia of Rarotonga as follows:

Table 7.—Pedigree of Marouna

26. Tangiia, m. = Puatara (of Mauke)

Motoro, m.
Uanuku, m.
Uanuku-rakeiora, m.
Ruatapu,[a] m.
Kirikava, m.
Maeva-kura, m.
Maeva-rangi,[b] m.
Maine-maraerua,[c] f.

17. Marouna, m.

[a] Rautapu settled in Aitutaki. [b] Maeva-rangi was the high chief of Aitutaki whose country was overrun by invaders, corresponds to Gill's Tame-eva. [c] Maine-maraerua married a Rarotongan and lived in Rarotonga, where Marouna was born.

The genealogy of Marouna did not run down to 1900 but, working down from Tangiia in the 26th generation, Marouna is placed in the 17th generation. Table 3 shows that his contemporary, Te Rau, if worked back from Vaevae in 1900, would be in the 14th generation. In the two genealogies there is thus a difference of three generations, which is approximate enough.

The Ngati-Tane recovered and increased in numbers. The Ngariki, however, still bore a grudge for Maputu. Kaveutu, now the leading chief of Ngariki, emulated the treachery of Ungakute by planning a second oven. The oven was prepared at Angaitu in the northern part of the island near the boundary line between the districts of Tavaenga and Karanga. With a lack of suspicion that is extraordinary, the Ngati-Tane again dug the oven. Gill (12, p. 54), who saw the site of the oven, says that it was quite round, 48 feet in diameter, and deep. History repeated itself, and almost all the Ngati-Tane, men, women, and children, were slain in the second oven. The second oven at Angaitu figures as the tenth battle, and Kaveutu of the Ngariki became Lord of Mangaia. Those who were known to have escaped were Te-punga (priest of Tane), Te-vaki, and Te-Ko. Some inconsistency is apparent, for Gill (12, p. 308) gives this as happening in the period of Te Rau, third priest of Motoro, and states that Te-Ko was the wife of the famous Mautara (12, p. 55). Mautara certainly married Te-Ko of Ngati-Tane, and Te-vaki was a contemporary of his. Mautara, however, was the great-grandson of Te Rau and became the sixth priest of Motoro. Both Te Vaki and Te Ko must have been very young at the second oven, or else the second oven occurred after Te Rau's term of office.

After the second oven, the Ngati-Tane were left with but two known males to continue the stock. Probably there were other Ngati-Tane of lesser note who survived.

Ngariki Supremacy

It is recorded that in the battles against Te-Kama, though Tirango of the Tongaiti tribe was the leader of the war parties, the office of Lord of Mangaia was held by a member of the Ngariki tribe. In the two ovens in which Ngati-Tane were slain, the actual leaders and subsequently recognized Lord of Mangaia were both members of the Ngariki tribe.

After the second oven, trouble arose between the Ngariki and the warlike Tongaiti. The Ngariki were led by Ruaika, the fifth Inland High Priest. In a battle fought at Vaikakau in the Veitatei district, the Tongaiti were defeated and their leader, the famous Tirango, was slain. Probably because Ruaika held the position of hereditary High Priest, the position of Lord of Mangaia was given to Te-nau, another member of the Ngariki.

After the battle Vaikakau, the eleventh battle, the Tongaiti sought revenge under the leadership of One. The twelfth battle was fought at Taaonga in the Veitatei district and Ruaika was defeated. Panako, a high chief of the defeated party, with forty warriors, took refuge in the cave of Tangiia, a cavern formed by the exit waters of Lake Tiriara. Gill (12, p. 309) states that the title of Lord of Mangaia was held by One.

Much confusion concerning the Ngariki exists in the historical narrative of this period. It is evident from Gill's account of Panako (12, pp. 72-82) that the Tongaiti had been assisted in the battle against Ruaika by a section of the Ngariki which blockaded Panako's retreating force in the cave of Tangiia and were evidently intent on annihilating them:

> A fence of stakes was driven into the lake bottom at the entrance of the cave to prevent the nightly excursions of Panako's men in search of food. A strict guard was also maintained around the lake. Though Panako and One had been on different sides in the last battle, their ancestors had been on good terms. Panako, in desperation, determined to seek One's assistance on the strength of the ancient friendship. On a wet day when the guards were keeping in shelter, Panako managed to get through the blockading fence and, disguised as a woman, eluded the guards. He reached One safely and was promised succor. Again Panako eluded the guards and reached his men to unfold the plan and the night fixed for the relief. In the consultation that ensued, it was decided that the next man in rank to Panako should offer himself as a sacrifice to Rongo to insure success. This happened to be Tiora, the priest of Tane, who was present among the fugitives.

A contradiction is again apparent. Tiroa is listed as the priest of Tane immediately preceding Te-punga (12, p. 313). Te-punga has been given as one of the fugitives of the Ngati-Tane who escaped from the second oven and also as a contemporary of Mautara, who does not come into the historical narrative until a much later time. It is evident, therefore, that Te-punga, Te Vaki, and Te-Ko were the offspring of people who escaped from the second oven and that they were not there personally.

Tiroa accepted the supreme sacrifice demanded of him by going out openly the next day among his enemies and allowing himself to be slain. His body was laid on the altar of Rongo. His enemies did not realize that the victim had previously dedicated himself to a specific purpose that would lead to their defeat.

The day after, One with his Tongaiti forces arrived at Lake Tiriara with the ostensible purpose of assisting in the blockade. They took up a position in a cave near the opening that led to Panako's retreat. In the night they played the game of pitching wooden discs (*tupe*) and danced war dances at intervals. Ngariki stragglers visited the Tongaiti cave from time to time to see what was going on. These men were promptly dispatched by One's forces. Panako and his men emerged from their refuge with the bodies blackened and white bands of bark cloth wrapped around their heads to distinguish them. They joined the Tongaiti and assisted them in cutting off the Ngariki stragglers. The bodies of the dead were trampled down out of sight in the taro path known as Kumekume. In this way, the blockading force of Ngariki was largely disposed of and the remnant fled for shelter to the makatea.

Gill (12, p. 79) says that this was the first time that the ancient tribe of Ngariki took refuge on the rocks. The battle is termed Kumekume, the thirteenth on the list. It occurred in the period of Te Rau, third priest of Motoro.

Reign of the Akatauira

In his list of battles, Gill (12, p. 309) states that the tribe defeated at Kumekume was the Vaeruarangi under the chief Vete. The original Ngariki had by this time split into the three subdivisions, Ngariki, (Paparangi), Vaeruarangi, and Akatauira. Dissension had occurred among them, for some joined the Tongaiti against Ruaika. If the Ngariki and Vaeruarangi were grouped together as the people defeated at Kumekume, as Gill relates, Panako and his men must have belonged to the Akatauira division.

Gill lists (12, p. 309) One as Lord of Mangaia after the previous battle of Taaonga, but he does not allude to him in this office in his longer story concerning Panako. After the Kumekume battle, One and Panako were grouped together as victors, but One evidently allowed the official title of Lord of Mangaia to go to Panako. He probably felt that it was more correct for the title to be held by one who came of the original Ngariki stock.

Two more battles are listed as occurring during the Akatauira period of supremacy. The fourteenth battle was fought at Kouramaiti in Veitatei. The tribe causing trouble was Te-kama under the chief Mokora. The Te-kama tribe, supposedly almost annihilated at the eighth battle of Areutu, had evidently resuscitated. They were defeated by One, and the official rank of Lord of Mangaia was retained by Panako.

The defeated Te-kama rallied under the chief Kotaa and fought the fifteenth battle at Te-papa in Veitatei. One was victorious and Panako retained the title of Lord of Mangaia a third time. From Gill's account (12, p. 130), it appears that a section of the Tongaiti tribe under Tauai and Te-

karaka had been involved in the plot to secure the supreme chieftainship. It is stated that Tauai and Te-karaka were exiled by Aeru, a chief of the Vaeruarangi division of Ngariki. It is difficult to reconcile this possession of power with the previous statements describing the defeat of the Vaeruarangi by One and Panako at the thirteenth battle of Kumekume. However, Aeru consulted Paeke, who had succeeded his father, Te Rau, and become fourth priest of Motoro. Paeke, speaking oracularly for Motoro, recommended that the plotters be exiled and not slain. Tauai and Te-karaka with their families and adherents set off in two double canoes duly provisioned. Gill (12, p. 131) associates the Mangaian Te-karaka with a man of the same name mentioned in New Zealand tradition and thus deduces that the exiles safely reached the North Island of New Zealand. From their contemporary, Paeke, priest of Motoro, to 1900 is 13 generations (Table 3). I do not know of any canoes that landed in New Zealand thirteen generations ago.

The Tongaiti chief, One, won the three battles fought after his first battle against Ruaika, but he was magnanimous enough to allow the office of supreme chieftainship to be held by his ally, Panako, who was descended from the older Ngariki tribe. When the last battle of Te-papa took place, Paeke had succeeded his father Te Rau and become the fourth priest of Motoro.

Military Rise of the Tongaiti

The Tongaiti tribe had continued to occupy the southern district of Tamarua. Though they worshiped the lizard god Matarau, they were credited with deriving their military prowess from the god Tongaiti, who had been apportioned bravery (*toa*) and military enterprise (*vaingaere*) by Vatea. Though defeated in their first battle against the Ngariki shortly after their landing, defeat did not lessen their desire for military power. They produced war leaders of note in Tirango and One. The alliance between One and Panako had prevented their taking the supreme military chieftainship which One's successful battles entitled them to hold.

On the death of One, his nephew Ngauta succeeded to the military leadership of the Tongaiti. Te-karaka, sometimes confounded with the chief of that name exiled by Aeru in the reign of Panako, fomented trouble against Panako on the grounds that but for the Tongaiti he and his people would have starved in the cave of Tangiia. Ngauta assumed the leadership of the Tongaiti with the full intention of enjoying any power to which subsequent campaigns might entitle him.

Ruaika, still holding the office of Inland High Priest, made another bid for military supremacy with his division of the Ngariki tribe. He fought the Tongaiti under Ngauta at the sixteenth battle of Te-rua-kere-tonga in the Karanga district. He suffered defeat and was killed by Ngauta. Among

the fugitives was the original Mautara, who lived in the rocks and became a notorious cannibal (12, pp. 103-105). Ngauta after his victory assumed the title of Lord of Mangaia.

The machinations of Te-karaka against Panako also came to a head. Panako, supported by Tata, was attacked at the seventeenth battle fought at Arakoa, in the Keia district. Panako and many of his tribe were slain by Ngauta, who thus settled his right to the supreme military cheiftainship and assumed the government of the island. Thus the title of Lord of Mangaia definitely passed from the Ngariki tribe to the leader of the victorious party in war.

Though Ngauta had definitely obtained the *mangaia* (office of Lord of Mangaia) at the battle of Arakoa, he evidently still had qualms about the official title, for he allowed a chief named Taia to exercise a nominal holding with him.

Ngauta subsequently gained seven more victories and was regarded as invincible. His next battle was against the Teipe tribe which was a subdivision of the Tongaiti. The Teipe under Maruataiti were defeated in the eighteenth battle of Auruia in the Tavaenga district. After this, Ngauta seems to have dispensed with Taia and enjoyed the supreme chieftainship without assistance.

The Akatauira division of Ngariki under Motu-oro tried conclusions at Iotepui (nineteenth battle) in the Tavaenga district and were defeated. At this time, Akunukunu had succeeded Paeke and become fifth priest of Motoro.

The next battle (twentieth) was fought at Punanga in the Tamarua district. The defeated people are given as the Tuma tribe under Tiauru (12, p. 309). The Tuma were evidently a section of the Ngariki, for Tuka's war dirge (12, p. 82) shows that Tiauru was seeking revenge against the Tongaiti for his father who was buried in the taro patch at Kumekume where the Ngariki met disaster at the hands of One and Panako. Ngauta's sixth *mangaia* was against the Ngariki at Te-rua-nonianga (twenty-first battle) in the Keia district.

The Teipe tribe, after their disagreement with the Tongaiti at the battle of Auruia, had been united with it in friendly alliance. In the latter part of Ngauta's sway, someone maliciously injured the yam vines growing in front of Ngauta's house and fouled his drinking pool. Ngauta accused the Teipe and sent a challenge to their chief Are-pee. The battle was fought at Ikuari (twenty-second battle) in the Keia district, and the Teipe were routed. Among those who escaped was Inangaro, who, with some companions, took refuge in the cave of Tungapi. Their unfortunate betrayal is related by Gill in detail (12, pp. 88-98). Gill's battle list (12, p. 310) gives Terea as recognized Lord of Mangaia by consent of Ngauta. This was Ngauta's last success. He thus acquired seven *mangaia* but did not officially hold the last

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one. Ngauta was a powerful man, and the spear he used in battle was said to be 30 feet long.

The end of the Tongaiti supremacy came about by an organized plot:

Among the fugitives from the twentieth battle of Punanga were Kauate and his son Reketia, members of the Ngariki tribe. Though exiles, they had many friends who supplied them with food. One morning they slew the notorious cannibal Mautara who was foraging in a taro swamp. Akunukunu, priest of Motoro, had been slain by the Tongaiti, and his son Rongo-i-mua held office as the sixth priest of Motoro. Kauate and Reketia were accustomed to pay visits to the priest of their god and hold conferences with him and Ngangati, a Ngariki warrior, as to means whereby the Ngariki supremacy could be restored. At these midnight meetings, the priest took to eating human flesh and was nicknamed Mautara, after the cannibal who had been slain by his visitors. One night under the influence of kava, Mautara informed his visitors that the supremacy of the worshipers of Motoro could only be restored if Kauate himself would make the supreme sacrifice by seeking a violent death at the hand of his foes. Kauate, to insure the success desired, purposely took a bunch of green bananas belonging to the enemy and buried it near at hand to ripen. Kauate was the tallest man in Mangaia, and the height at which the bananas had been wrenched off indicated the thief to the enraged owner. Search revealed the ripening fruit near at hand. On the fifth day, after the time required for ripening bananas, Kauate openly went to the pit, well knowing that the enemy would be on the watch. The father begged his son not to accompany him but to live. The son refused to leave his father, and both Kauate and Reketia were slain by their waiting foes. In this way the Ngariki were assured of the success of their subsequent plot, for the wishes of their god Motoro had been complied with.

This magnificent sacrifice by a chief of Kauate's high rank is such an outstanding incident that the words of the fête song composed by Tangarerua in commemorating the story are worth quoting (12, p. 107):

Reketia urunga i Mataira Kauate te 'are o Ngariki, Kua motu koe ia Motoro, ka ta e - ! O Ngariki 'oki te puanga.	Reketia slain at Mataira, Kauate, chief of the house of Ngariki, Thou art slain through Motoro, killed, That Ngariki might revive.
Pua i Tava'enga, o te Tikute, O Ngati-Marua: Te ivi matakeinanga ia Ngariki e -	Born in Tavaenga, [son] of Tikute, Belonging to the tribe from the Shades, [Head of] the people of Ngariki.
No'o i Ivirua, kopu tangata o Motoro, Amu te tuarangi e-	Ye lived at Ivirua, the tribe of Motoro, Like Amu of ancient times.
Ei tauka ia Ngariki, O Vaeruarangi au e -	Prospective ruler of Ngariki, I am of Vaeruarangi.

NOTE: In the last line the singer states that he is of the Vaeruarangi division and thus claims kinship with the heroes of the song.

In the plot carried out under the leadership of Ngangati all the enslaved Ngariki arose at a given time and slew their masters of Tongaiti. The surprise was successful. Ngauta was slain by his nephew, and thus the rule of the Tongaiti came to an end.

Restoration of the Ngariki

The rise of the Ngariki consisted of a number of simultaneous murders, and though not dignified by a common name, it is counted as the twenty-third battle. The flower of the Tongaiti were slain and the tribe never regained prominence. Though Ngangati was the virtual victor, he allowed the *mangaia* to be held by Tuanui.

Iro and Tuavera of the defeated tribe planned to kill the leaders of the Ngariki, but one Tia revealed the plot and the ambuscade failed. The plotters would have been put to death if the god Motoro speaking through his priest Mautara had not announced that "the sacred clothing of the gods must not be defiled with human blood." As making the bark cloth known as *tikoru mata'iapo*, "as thick as cardboard," for use in clothing the wooden images of the gods, the great chiefs, and the priests, called for a technique known only to Pati, the priest of the Tongaiti, the interpretation of the fiat of Motoro was that Pati could not be killed. The restriction was made to include his fellow tribesmen. Tuanui, in his position of supreme Lord of Mangaia, ordered that the remnants of the Tongaiti be exiled from the island.

Two large double canoes were built in Tuavera. They were 60 feet long and were provisioned. The movable property of the exiles was also taken on board. During the whole time of preparation, the Tongaiti were not molested in any way. A farewell feast was given by their friends on the morning of departure. One canoe was commanded by Iro and Tuavera and the other by Akaina and Pati. Just before leaving, Iro called aside his nephew Are-kare and exhorted him to avenge his expulsion by splitting up the Ngariki into hostile factions. Are-kare's mother was the sister of Iro, and Are-kare thus remained on Mangaia with his father's tribe. Taora, who remained behind at the request of his uncle Manini, was slain by Tuanui as a sacrifice to Rongo. According to Rarotongan sources, the canoes reached Rarotonga and the exiles settled at Titikaveka on the southern side of the island, where their descendants are to be found to this day.

Are-kare obeyed the wishes of his exiled uncle by deliberately stirring up strife among the chiefs of the Ngariki and so splitting them into jealous factions. After some years of Tuanui's reign, Are-kare with a number of friends made a night attack upon those concerned in the expulsion of Iro. The killing of a number of people with powerful friends led the Ngariki to divide into two parties who sought battle at Maueue (twenty-fourth battle) in the Tamarua district. Tuanui, Are-kare, and others to the number of 60 warriors were slain. Among them was Ronga-ariki, whose father Una was an expert in carving and sennit work and who had arrived at Mangaia on a drift canoe from Tahiti (12, p. 222). In the battle Rongo-ariki's son, Rori, stood behind him, spear in hand, to fill his father's place should he fall. In the rout which followed, father and son escaped to their house with pursuers hot on their trail. The father urged Rori and his other children to flee to the makatea. Rori escaped while his father nobly engaged the enemy and thus delayed their movements to give his son the start that carried him to safety. The expert skill of the master craftsman, Una, had been taught to Rori, who occupied his many years of exile in the *raei kere* (black makatea) on the eastern side of the island in making stone adzes and other objects.

This story of the "exiles" is given more fully by Gill (12, pp. 130-142). "Rori, the Hermit" is one of the popular stories of Mangaia (12, pp. 222-239). Tauii was the leader on the victorious side and he assumed the supreme chieftainship (12, p. 310). Ngangati, the warrior chief of Ngariki, does not appear in the narrative on either side.

The twenty-fifth battle was fought between the Ngariki under Ngangati and the Vaeruarangi under Namu at Ariki in the Veitatei district. The Ngariki were victorious and Ngangati assumed the title of Lord of Mangaia for the first time. Three days later (12, p. 310) another battle was fought by Ngangati against the small tribe of Tangiia on the same battlefield of Ariki (twenty-sixth battle). The origin of the Tangiia tribe is not clear, but they worshiped Tangiia, the fifth son of Vatea and Papa. The tribe lived on the shores of Lake Tiriara, where their marae was situated. A former priest named Tangiia had demanded from Marere, a former chief of the Akatauira division of the Ngariki, his little son to be eaten with his bowl of kava. To save his son, Marere poisoned the priest by mixing three vegetable poisons in his kava. Ngangati was a descendant of Marere. On taking up his abode in the district, he determined to exterminate the remnant of the Tangiia tribe, whose leader at this time was Tangi-kaara, a direct descendant of the priest Tangiia.

Ngangati, therefore, called a feast at which kava was to be drunk and invited the Tangiia people to it. The kava was prepared, a host sitting by each guest. On the signal to drink, each Ngariki host seized his guest by the hair as he lowered his head and killed him. Tangi-kaara, however, refused to drink at Ngangati's invitation. When Ngangati seized his hair, Tangi-kaara, a man of giant size and strength, ran toward the lake with his assailant clinging to him. As he was about to leap into the lake to drown his assailant with himself, Ngangati let go and Tangi-kaara escaped. (See 12, pp. 143-148.)

This massacre was regarded as a battle and counted as Ngangati's second *mangaia.*

A third battle was fought at Ariki by Ngangati, and a tribe named Kanae was almost exterminated. There seems to have been some connection between the Tangiia and Kanae tribes, for they are grouped together in a death song composed by Koroa (12, p. 147). Tangaka, the cannibal (12, pp. 108-114), was a member of the Kanae tribe and probably fled for refuge to the rocks after this engagement instead of an earlier one, as stated by Gill (12, p. 310).

These three victorious battles fought at Ariki by Ngangati firmly restored the Ngariki to power.

The Ariki battles were followed by an attempt of the Tongaiti under Kotuku, father of Ngauta, to defeat the Ngariki. The battle took place at Te-au-papa (twenty-eighth battle) in Veitatei, and Ngangati added a fourth *mangaia* to his list. Another battle took place at Te-au-papa (twenty-ninth battle) in which the Vaeruarangi tribe under Kaoa tried conclusions and failed. This formed the last of Ngangati's successes. He was regarded as a brave warrior and held the *mangaia* five times.

During their period of supremacy the Ngariki fought among themselves and twice against the Vaeruarangi who were descended from the same stock.

The fall of the Ngariki was brought about by Akatara, a nephew of Ngangati. While his uncle was tending his yam vines one evening, Akatara killed him treacherously. Probably some of Ngangati's closest supporters were similarly disposed of, for this incident is alluded to as a night surprise and the thirtieth official battle takes its name from Aua in the Keia district where the slaying took place. Akatara declared himself Temporal Lord and thus held the *mangaia*.

Akatara's chief adviser, Aro, was a man as treacherous as himself. Mautara, the sixth priest of Motoro, had a family of six sons of whom the first two were on the way to become warriors of renown. Aro told Akatara that if he wished to hold the *mangaia* for any length of time, he must dispose of Mautara and his two sons. A plot was hatched to murder them at a feast to which they should be invited. (See 12, pp. 160-167.)

A woman named Karua overheard the plot. Her sister was married to Raumea, the second son of Mautara. The next night she slipped away from a fishing party, made her way over the makatea track, and reached Raumea's house. Laying a large fish before Raumea, she told him it would be the last he would ever eat if he accepted the invitation to Akatara's feast. She regained her party with a satisfactory explanation of her absence.

When the food for the feast had been gathered, Aro went round with the invitations. Both Mautara and his eldest son Te Uanuku accepted, but when Aro reached Raumea's residence he found Raumea with his foot bandaged up with rolls of blood-stained bark cloth. The story given was that Raumea's foot had been pierced by the sharp, circular-edged shield guarding the hole of an *ungakoa*, a marine animal that is found on the coral reef. Aro expressed a wish to see the wound so the matted bandages were slowly unwrapped. Raumea, however, begged them to desist before the last layer was reached, as he was in great pain. From the dried blood and the offensive odor that arose from the bandages, Aro was satisfied that the foot was really injured and that Raumea could not attend the feast. He did not suspect that the blood was from freshly killed rats and that a decayed rat was included under the last layers for his deception. The guests duly arrived and the feast was postponed as long as possible on the chance that Raumea would turn up. Akatara and Aro realized that it was useless to kill Mautara and Te Uanuku while the warrior Raumea remained alive. As Raumea did not appear, the plot was deferred for another occasion.

Mautara and his sons had had a warning, however, and their only chance of surviving was to dispose of Akatara. A return feast was accordingly prepared at Tapiti in the Keia district. As the Mautara family was small, they drew reinforcements from the fugitives of the previous battles who were only too eager for a chance to revive their fallen fortunes. The site of the feast was cleared, and banana and coconut leaves spread over the ground. Upon them the food was heaped, but weapons were concealed underneath. As the guests arrived, they were courteously invited to be seated, and the hosts arranged themselves to sit beside the individual guests. Akatara came last of all to make an impressive arrival befitting his high rank. As he approached, Te Uanuku advanced to greet him saying, "Ua ta'ata'a rava koe e tao i to mangaia." (You are putting on overmuch style, O, Brother-in-law, with your rank.) The hosts were scraping taro with *pipi* shells and they awaited Te Uanuku's next words as the signal for attack. Te Uanuku, as he approached Akatara, said, "Era te pipi ra, e mau." (There are the *pipi* shells, grasp.) At the same time he seized Akatara by the hair and, jerking him to the ground, killed him. Simultaneously the hosts turned on their guests and slew them all save a single survivor.

Among the supporters of the Mautara family was Kanune, the Shore High Priest. He had been supported in his elevation to the title by Mautara's two sons, in order, as the astute father told them, that he might sound the drum of peace after their victories. Kanune and Raumea were both men of enormous strength. Before the attack, Raumea had on his right a guest of whom he was rather fond. When the signal was given, he seized the neighbor on his left by the head and swung it under his left thigh under which he pinned him to the ground. He did not touch his friend but waited to see what he would do. When he saw him groping under the leaves for a weapon as he had seen the other hosts do, Raumea grasped him also by the head and pinned it to the ground under his right thigh. Kanune, having killed two men and seeing Raumea still seated with two struggling men, picked up his victims and throwing them in front of Raumea said, with a swaggering air, "O Raumea, mine are both dead." Raumea killed his men, but Kanune's words rankled in his mind. He saw that Kanune was boastful and would be a possible danger in the future.

The massacre at Tapati ranks as the thirty-first battle, but it did not carry the decision of the supreme chieftainship, though Akatara was killed. It formed a preliminary skirmish to the battle that followed.

Mautara mustered his family and their adherents and marched over with his small force to Ivirua to give battle to the Ngariki. The Ngariki, though dispirited at the death of Akatara, had mustered a large army which stood eight deep instead of the usual two or four deep. This gave rise to the expression, *koapa kakaʻo* (like the reeds in the walls of a house). The Ngariki were under the command of Ruanae.

Though the Mautara party was small, both Te Uanuku and Raumea were tried warriors who had proved their prowess at the battle of Maueue. The Ngariki preliminary war dance shook the ground, but Mautara coolly exhorted his men, informing them that it was either victory or the cooking ovens. The usual formation in battle was for the two sides to arrange themselves opposite one another in parallel lines. Owing to their small number, however, Mautara's force advanced down the slope in column and suddenly fell upon the enemy center, cutting them in two. After a desperate battle, the Ngariki were defeated and the fugitives with Raunae sought shelter in the Cave of the Tern (Te Ana Kakaia). The opening of the cave is some distance up the cliff side and can be approached only by a narrow track, thus rendering it impregnable to attack. (See 12, pp. 166-167.)

This defeat of the Ngariki is listed as the battle of Arira (the thirty-second in Mangaian history). In this battle the official priest of Motoro occupied a unique position, fighting against his employers. The Ngariki, on the other hand, could not kill Mautara, as they would have forever cut themselves off from communication with their tribal god. Mautara himself knew this and went through the battle without a weapon but with an enormous coconut leaflet fan. Gill (12, p. 310) states that the tribes defeated in the battle of Arira were the Tuokura and the Teipe. The Tuokura may have been a section of the Ngariki, and some members of the Teipe division of the Tongaiti tribe may have been present. The main forces, on the enemy side, however, were Ngariki, who were determined to avenge the death of Akatara and retain their military supremacy. After their defeat, the *mangaia* passed to the victors. Mautara himself preferred to remain priest of Motoro,

and the supreme chieftainship was conferred on his eldest son, Te Uanuku. Through the miscarriage of Aro's plot to murder Mautara and his two sons, this priestly family not only ended the military power of the Ngariki but also forced upon themselves the acceptance of the temporal power that had by this time become identified with military success.

Rise and Fall of the Ngati-Vara

The family to which Mautara belonged were known as Te Amama (The Open-mouth), from the opening of the mouth of their ancestor Papaaunuku when the god Motoro took possession of him. The name referred to their priestly functions. As a social group they were known as Ngati-Vara, through the acceptance of Vara, the son of Papaaunuku, as their eponymous ancestor. The Ngati-Vara were evidently the only tribe that managed to preserve genealogies until the post-European period, when they were written down by Mamae. Two lines, springing from two sons of Mautara, have been given in Table 3 as a chronological record. Mamae, in his introduction to the full Ngati-Vara genealogies, sketches the origin of the tribe from Papaaunuku. After describing the priestly functions of Papaaunuku, whose father and mother were not known, he goes on:

Tera te ingoa o ta Papa-au-nuku va'ine, o Te Rangi-ti'a. Anau mai ra a raua puke tamariki tokorua, e tamaroa teta'i, e tama'ine teta'i. Tapa i'ora te ingoa o te tamaroa, o Vara-i-te-manuku. Tera te aite anga o tona ingoa, e "au manga," e mangakai nei. O te aite anga ia o te manuku. Nona te ingoa i taiku'ia i nunga i te kopu tangata ra e, e Ngati-Vara.

The name of Papa-aunuku's wife was Te Rangi-tia. Their group of children born were two, one a boy, one a girl. The name given to the boy was Vara-i-te-manuku. The meaning of his name was "food," a portion of food.

That is the meaning of manuku. His was the name that was given to that tribe, the Ngati-Vara.

Tera te ingoa o tona tua'ine, o Rangi-rutua. Kua rave i'ora a Vara i nga va'ine tokorua nana, o Tonganui te ingoa o teta'i, o Raurau te ingoa o teta'i.

The name of his sister was Rangi-rutua. Vara took two wives for himself, Tonganui [being] the name of one, Raurau [being] the other.

'Anau mai ra ta te va'ine mua tamariki, toko'a. Tera to ratou au ingoa, o Te Rau te tama, o Te Ni'a, o Tuarau, o Nga'ae te openga, e puke tamaroa.

The children born from the first wife were four. Their names were Te Rau the first-born male, Te Nia, Tuarau, Ngaae the last, a group of boys.

'Anau mai ta tata'i va'ine ta Raurau, e tamoroa, o Te-ivitu te ingoa. 'Okota'i 'ua ra ana.

Borne by the other wife, by Raurau, [was] a son, Te-ivitu [being] the name. One only [was] hers.

Kareka o te 'anau a Vara nei, kua mate eta'i toko'a, ua taia e te Ngati-Tangiia, e te Ngati-Tonga'iti, e te Ngariki 'oki.

But of the family of this Vara, some died, numbering four, killed by the Tangiia tribe, by the Tongaiti and by the Ngariki also.

'Okata'i 'ua tei ora mai, o Te Rau, e te metua 'oki o Vara.

Only one survived, Te Rau, and the father also, Vara.

Ua vai'o'ia e Ngariki ei pi'a atua no ratou.

[They] were spared by the Ngariki as a priest for them.

Kareka o Te Ni'a, e Tuarau, e Nga'ae, e Te-ivitu, ua taia ratou. I taia i Tangikura i teta'i nga'i i te tapere o Veitatei. O ta ratou ia ta'ua puruki o ratou anake ua mate i'ora a Te-ivitu, pue'u rikiriki eta'i i te ra'ei i te makatea.

Thus Te Nia, Tuarau, Ngaae and Te-ivitu were killed. [They were] attacked at Tangikura in a part of the district of Veitatei. On their battlefield, Te-ivitu was killed, the others fled to the rocks in the makatea.

E tae ake ra i teta'i tuatau, kite atu ra i teta'i nga'i, o Mangonui te ingoa, tei te tapere i Tamarua. Taia i'ora e mate atu ra. 'Aere atu ra a Vara i te kimi aere i te 'anau ma te aue ia ratou.

On reaching a certain time, [they were] seen at a place, Mangonui by name, in the district of Tamarua. [They were] struck down and died. Vara went to search for his family and wailed for them.

E tae atu ra a ia i teta'i nga'i o Tuauko te ingoa, tei te tapere i Kei'a, no'o i'ora i reira ma te 'akuru i teta'i puakapa nona i runga i teta'i tua'ivi maunga ma te aue 'ua ra i te 'anau, no te mea kare ratou.

When he reached a place called Tuauko, in the district of Keia, he stayed there and raised a shelter for himself on a ridge of the mountain and he wailed for his family because they were no more.

Mari ra o tana tama mua 'ua tei 'akaora'ia e te kopu Ngariki, ko ia 'oki Te Rau, e te matua katoa 'oki o Vara. Ua mate e toko'a.

But his first-born son alone was spared by the tribe of Ngariki, namely Te Rau, and the father also, Vara. Four were killed.

Tera te pue i 'atua no te 'anau a Vara, no Va'arua i 'atu:

This is the song composed for the family of Vara, composed by Vaarua:

"Tanumia i Nukuroa te toa, i kotia e tupeke ia Mautara, O te ivi o Tu e —
" 'Ae.

"Planted was the ironwood at Nukuroa and cut down to drive out Mautara of the tribe of Tu-e-Ae.

"Kauero te ra i Uira, ua tangi mai a Nga'ae i te uru kainga i te tapere
" 'Ae.

"The sun rises over the hill of Uira, Ngaae weeps for his home and the district [of Veitatei].

"No'o mai Vara i Tuauko
" 'Ua reka tana moe i te 'anau tei te ra'ei kere.
" 'Akaronga atu e Te Ni'a e e te tangi o te tai."

"Vara remains at Tuauko,
"His sleep is sound but his family are in the black rocks.
"O Te Nia, listen to the sound of the sea."

NOTE: The reference to the sun rising over the hill of Uira conveys to the composer and his hearers the picture of the fugitive Ngaae watching, from his refuge in the rocks, the sun rise over a hill in Veitatei where their home was situated, and brings up the poignant grief for the home and the land which they will never occupy again. Similarly, Vara sleeps the comparative sleep of safety which his sons in the black rocks will never more enjoy. All that is left to Te Nia is to listen to the sound of the waves over which he will never more ply his canoe in safety.

E tae ake ra i te tuatau i no'o va'ine ai a Te Rau, o 'Uitau te ingoa o tana va'ine. 'Anau mai ra ta raua tamaiti, o Pa'eke. O Amo ta Pa'eke va'ine. 'Anau mai ra te raua, o Anukunuku te tama, o Te'ora te tua'ine.

When the time was reached that Te Rau married, Uitau was the name of his wife. Born was a child to them [two], Paeke. Amo was Paeke's wife. Born to them [were] Akunukunu, a son, [and] Teora, [his] sister.

Riro atu ra a ia e va'ine na Rurae. No roto ia tangata i te kopu o Manarangi. 'Anau, ai ta raua tamaiti, o Mana'une te ingoa. Koia 'oki tei karanga'ia ra e o te kopu o Mana'une.

She [Teora] was taken as a wife by Rurae. That man belonged to the tribe of Manarangi. Born was their son, Manaune [was] his name. Hence was named the tribe of Manaune.

E tae ake ra i te tautau i no'o va'ine ai a Akunukunu, o Kura-pe'au tana va'ine. E tama'ine na Te Rangai, o Te Vaki te tungane, o Te-moea'u to raua metua va'ine, o te va'ine ia a Te Rangai. E tama'ine a Moea'u na Ivi. No roto a Ivi i te kopu o Tonga'iti.

When the time was reached that Akunukunu married, Kura-peau [was] his wife. [She was] a daughter of Te Rangai, Te Vaki was her brother, Te-moeau was their mother, she [being] the wife of Te Rangai. Te-moeau was a daughter of Ivi. Ivi belonged to the tribe of Tongaiti.

E tama va'ine te Ngati-Vara i roto i te Ngati-Tane.

The Ngati-Vara were connected on the female side with Ngati-Tane.

NOTE: Except in adoptions, the children belonged to the father's tribe but were termed *tama va'ine* to their mother's tribe. Thus Ivi was a Tongaiti and his daughter, Te-moeau, was also Tongaiti. Te-moeau married Te Rangai of Ngati-Tane, and their daughter Kura-peau was a Ngati-Tane. Kura-peau mrried Akunukunu of Ngati-Vara and their children were Ngati-Vara but were *tama va'ine* to the Ngati-Tane through their mother Kura-peau. The Ngati-Vara as a tribe were said to be *tama va'ine* to Ngati-Tane because Kura-peau was the mother of Mautara, the most famous of the Ngati-Vara and from whom the tribe really spread out.

E tae ake ra i te tuatau i 'anau mai ai ta Akunukunu ia Kura-pe'au, koia 'oki Mautara.

When the time arrived that a child by Akunukunu was born of Kura-peau, then it was Mautara.

O Te-ko ta Mautara va'ine. 'Anau mai ra ta raua 'anau tokovaru tamaroa, tokorua tama'ine.

Te-Ko was Mautara's wife. Born was their family, eight sons, two daughters.

Tera nga tamaroa: o Te Uanuku, te kikomua, o Rauhea, o Ikoke, o Karaea, o Takurua, o Karorau, o Kakina, o Ngara.

These are the sons: Te Uanuku, Raumea, Ikoke, Karaea, Takurua, Karorau, Kakina, Ngara.

I mate uki 'ua Karorau e Kakina. Itaia e te tamaki i te po.

Karorau and Kakina died without issue. They were slain in a fight at night.

Tera nga tama'ine: o Kura-pe'au te 'ine, o te ingoa o tona metua, va'ine ra; o Te-uoro.

These are the daughters: Kura-peau, the eldest daughter, named after her mother, Te-uoro.

Ka ta'inga'uru te 'anau a Mautara te katoatoa. Tera te pe'e i 'atua no nga tokovaru a Mautara. No Koroa i 'atu. Tera te tumu:

The family of Mautara was ten in all. This is the song composed for the eight [sons] of Mautara. Koroa composed it. This is the theme:

"Teia te vao ra e ngati ra ia Raupo,	"This is the valley that forms a tribe at Raupo,
"Nga tangata i Te Tuapoto ia kai ake to 'anau e — "Taipo e.	"The men of Te Tuapoto [subdistrict] who enabled the family to eat [in plenty].
"O Ngara koe i Te Rimu-kura, "Nga tokovaru i te anaunga a Te-Ko, e — "'Ae e.	"O Ngara, thou art at the Rimu-kura. "The eighth born of Te-Ko.
"Raumea pa'a, o Te Uanuku "Nga tama i mua a Mautara, "Ka tupu e — "O a Te-puakato e —"	"Raumea and Te Uanuku, "The first-born sons of Mautara, "[The tribe] will increase from Te-Ko."

NOTE: This song contains the reference to the commencement of the Ngati-Vara greatness through the eight sons of Mautara. The *vao* (valley) was, according to Mamae's notes, a valley of men who formed the *ngati* (tribe). Raupo, Te Tuapoto, and Rimu-kura are place names associated with Ngati-Vara, and Te-puakato was another name for Te-Ko, the mother of the eight.

It is clear from the genealogy given by Mamae (Table 8) that as the four brothers of Te Rau were killed in the third generation, in the sixth generation Mautara was the sole male of the Ngati-Vara stock. The first two battles against the Ngariki were fought when Te Uanuku and Raumea were grown up and married. Te Unauku was married to Tangitoa, the sister of Akatara, whom he slew. Mautara and his sons formed the nucleus of a group recruited from the defeated members of other tribes, for the Ngati-Vara, as a tribe of blood kinsmen, did not develop sufficient numbers to make themselves felt until the second and third generation after Mautara. However, of the mixed group which conquered the Ngariki at Arira, Mautara supplied the brains and his two warrior sons the leadership and personal valor in battle.

Though defeated at Arira, the Ngariki refugees in the Cave of Terns were too numerous for the country to be at peace. Though Te Uanuku held the *mangaia,* he could not order the drum of peace to be sounded until he had forced another more decisive battle to consolidate his position. The forces of Ruanae remained in the Cave of Terns by day and sallied out at night to forage for food and to cut off stragglers. They avoided a pitched battle and waged guerrilla warfare. Among the refugees in the cave were Mautara's aunt Teora with her husband Rurae and their son Manaune. Women often accompanied their husbands into exile, though they were not molested by their own tribe should they be the conquerors. Manaune (Table 8) was a Ngati-Vara on his mother's side and first cousin to Mautara. His father, however, being on the enemy side, made the son an enemy also, and his life was not safe from the conquerors should he fall into their hands. His mother, realizing that the defeat of her husband's party was only a question

of time, determined not only to save her son's life but at the same time to provide for his future:

She accordingly made her way by night with her son to Mautara's encampment in the west. Entering Mautara's hut, Teora, after paying her respects to her nephew, begged him to adopt her son into his tribe. Mautara consented and after seeing her on her way back to the Cave of Terns to recover her property there, Mautara and Manaune returned to the camp. According to Gill (12, p. 196), the news of the adoption had got about, and as they were sighted the armed warriors made a dash toward them and fought a mimic battle in honor of the occasion. My informants say that Te Uanuku and Raumea, on sighting Manaune, dashed up with the intention of killing him. Mautara, however, shouted at the top of his voice, "Spare him that he may cut grass with which to floor your houses." A show of attack ended the affair. The sons of Mautara were always suspicious of Manaune and made disparaging remarks about him, for they felt that in any battle he would side with his father's tribe.

Table 8.—The Descent of Mautara

1. PAPAAUNUKU, m. = Te Rangi-tia, f

2. (1) Tonga-nui, f. = VARA-I-TE-MANUKU, m. = (2) Raurau, f. — Rangi-rutua, f.
Te-ivitu, m.

3. Ivi, m. — TE RAU, m. = Uitau, f. — Te Nia, m. — Tuarau, m. — Ngaae, m.

4. Te Rangai, m. = Te-moeau, f. — PAEKE, m. = Amo, f.

5. Kura-peau, f. = AKUNUKUNU, m. — Teora, f. = Rurae, m.

6. MAUTARA, m. = Te-ko, f. — Manaune, m.

7.
—TE UANUKU, m.
—Raumea, m.
—Ikoke, m.
—Karaea, m.
—Takurua, m.
—Karorau, m. (no issue)
—Kakina, m. (no issue)
—Ngara, m. (priest of Motoro)
—Kura-peau, f.
—Te-uoro, f.

During the period preceding the adoption Raumea had put the Inland High Priest, Kanune, to the test:

Raumea sent one of his younger brothers ahead of him into Kanune's plantation when he knew the owner would be there and told the boy to pick a bunch of bananas in

the sight of Kanune. The boy did so, and Kanune, after reviling him, threw him into the adjacent taro swamp. As the boy was crawling out, Kanune pushed him back with his foot. Raumea arrived on the scene and demanded an explanation. Words led to blows, as Raumea had planned. They were the two strongest men in Mangaia at that time. Raumea killed the priest. When Mautara heard of it, he was very angry with Raumea, saying that misfortune would come upon him as he had angered the gods by slaying that which the gods had commanded him to set up.

The fugitive tribe of Ruanae, after months of cannibal feasting on the stragglers they could cut off, determined to pay a visit to the Tamarua district to get a supply of coconuts.

Ruanae traveled at night to pick the nuts at the light of dawn. The day before, Te-Ko, wife of Mautara, had had a waking dream in which she repeated the words, "Te kere puru i au tamariki tei A'atea." (The fallen chestnut flowers of my sons are at Aatea.) She went on to say, "Aua e oro re poke." (Do not grate provisions.) Mautara regarded his wife as a medium through whom her god Tane-ngaki-au spoke on occasion. He was accustomed to interpret her sayings. He thus considered that the fallen chestnut flowers referred to the number of the enemy and that they would be gathered at Aatea in the Tamarua district. The injunction not to scrape taro for food indicated haste. That very night Te Uanuku and Raumea, accompanied by the newly adopted Manaune, set off with an armed force for the Tamarua district. In the early morning, while advancing stealthily over a ridge at Puke-o-toi, they espied the forces of Ruanae engaged in gathering coconuts. Some were up in the trees hurling down the fruit, and others were busy on the ground husking the nuts on pointed stakes. Manaune, in his haste to prove himself, dashed over the hill to kill the first man. According to Gill (12, p. 193), the father of Manaune had already fallen in battle, but my informants maintained that the first man that Manaune found descending a tree was his father, Rurae. Rurae, realizing his hesitation in staying his hand, said, "Kill me quickly that your adoption may be sealed with my blood." Manaune slew him and in a fit of frenzy at what he had done performed prodigies of valor. Ruanae's forces were cut off from their weapons, which they had stacked together in one place. Those in the trees fought by hurling coconuts down on their enemies, and those on the ground fought with the pointed husking sticks of green wood. However, a decisive victory was gained, and so many were killed in this thirty-third battle of Puku-o-toi that the tribe of Ruanae ceased to be a menace to the rule of Te Uanuku. The drum of peace was sounded after the sacrifices to Rongo, and an era of peace commenced.

Manaune, suffering from the psychological effect of his patricidal act, was said to have been demented for some time as a manifestation of the anger of the gods. He finally rose to a high position in the favor of Mautara and was granted the rule over a district. From him sprang the Manaune tribe which was to be afterwards instrumental in wresting the supreme power from the descendants of Mautara, the man who had saved Manaune from death.

The great Raumea was wounded in the thigh with a green husking stick. The wound became infected, and Raumea died from a trivial hurt that was rendered fatal by the anger of the gods at his slaying of Kanune.

The short rule of Te Uanuku, the first of the Ngati-Vara Lords of Mangaia, was beneficent, and the people enjoyed some two years of peace

and prosperity. It was ended by an act of human frailty. The story, based on the narrative by Gill (12, pp. 209-213), is as follows:

Te Uanuku had a love affair with the wife of Raei, a secondary chief of the Ngariki. Raei discovered his wife's misconduct but he could not himself attempt to kill Te Uanuku, as they were both worshipers of Motoro. He drew public attention to his wrongs by acting as one demented in parading the district of Keia with a red hibiscus flower stuck above his ear. This, in Mangaia, was an insult to the gods and had resulted in the slaying of the supreme lord, Te-aio for a similar offense. Mautara, who would have taken steps to punish the offense, questioned Te Uanuku as to the cause; on hearing the truth, he refrained from action. After some time, the trouble seemingly died down. Raei, however, had planned revenge by plotting with Kikau and the Tongaiti people to kill Te Uanuku. Te Uanuku returned from Keia to his home in Te Ivirua and on the very night of his arrival he was killed by Kikau and his men. Kikau thereupon gathered a large force on the northern end of the island with the intention of crushing Mautara's party and obtaining the *mangaia* for Raei. They marched over the hills into the Keia district and took up a position at Aua.

Meanwhile Mautara had been warned. He crossed the hills with members of his family to Ivirua to secure the corpse of his son, which he hid. He then gathered recruits for his army, most of them being obtained from his ancestral district of Veitatei. His total force was much inferior in numbers to that of the enemy.

In Kikau's army a private conference was held by three influential men, Namu, the official Ruler of Food of the island, Manini, a great warrior, and Parae, the priest of the Tongaiti tribe. Manini asked whom they should pity, Mautara or Raei. Namu at once replied, "Te atua" (the god), meaning Mautara in his capacity as priest of Motoro. It was thereupon plotted that Parae should warn Mautara that night in order that he might make a sudden attack in the early morning before the hungry army of Raei could have their morning meal. The three friends, with their adherents, were to attack Raei's troops in the rear. The priest did not go, but he delayed the feeding of the troops by ordering a set feast. The taro had to be grated instead of cooked whole. The preparations for the feast thus delayed the meal for some time. In the midst of the preparations, Mautara and his small army appeared descending the hill above the encampment. The priest Parae saw at a glance that the path by which Mautara was descending would lead him onto dry ground where the full weight of Raei's superior numbers could be hurled into action. As all faces were turned toward Mautara's force, Parae from his position at the back could not be observed. He therefore waved with his hands to catch Mautara's attention, and having secured it, signaled for Mautara to change his course and approach on the rear of one flank. This Mautara did, with the result that the lie of the taro patches prevented the full force of the enemy from becoming engagd against him at the same time. In the midst of the battle, the three friends who had maneuvered their forces into position without being suspected suddenly attacked on the rear. The army of Raei was caught between two forces without chance of escape. In the slaughter that took place, Raei was killed and Kikau captured. Victory once more smiled on Ngati-Vara.

Kikau was taken before Mautara and asked why he had killed Te Uanuku. Torture, which is not common in Polynesia, was resorted to. After the question, a finger was cut off with a sharp piece of stone. The same question was repeated until the fingers, toes, hands, feet, and limbs were in turn severed. To each question, the unfortunate Kikau replied, as long as he could, "Kua 'e i a Ra." (I erred through Raei.) This, as Gill (12, p. 212) remarks, became a saying.

A human sacrifice was offered to Rongo on the same day, but the drum of peace was not sounded until after the funeral ceremonies connected with Te Uanuku had taken place. Both Te Uanuku and Raumea, the warrior

sons of Mautara, being dead, Mautara himself took the *mangaia,* thus combining temporal power with his priestly office. In the redistribution of lands which always followed a battle, Namu, Manini, and Parae, who helped materially to decide the day, received ample reward.

With regard to the favorable attitude of the three plotters towards Mautara, it is easy to understand Manini's action, for he was married to Mautara's two sisters. Namu, after a previous battle, had been pursued by his enemies of the Tongaiti and had for months concealed himself in the makatea. His wife had become a servant to Mautara. Mautara, on learning from her that Namu was still alive, had restored him to his hereditary office of Ruler of Food in the period between the battles of Arira and Puku-o-toi. For conducting the religious ceremonies in connection with his office he had been rewarded with three subdistricts of land. At the time of Te Uanuku's death, he was still under Mautara's protection. He probably found himself with Raei's army because his own division of the Ngariki had mobilized with the others of that tribe. How they fought on the battlefield was subject to their own chiefs. Namu's gratitude to Mautara thus influenced his reply. The action of Parae is not so clear. Parae was priest of the remnants of the Tongaiti who were deeply involved by Kikau's slaying of Te Uanuku. He was evidently a great friend of Manini and Namu, and Namu's reply that their sympathy should undoubtedly be with the medium of the god must have appealed very strongly to another priest.

Mautara is regarded as the wisest and most sagacious priest and leader that Mangaia produced. His wisdom is illustrated by the manner in which he discovered the murderer of his nephew, Raumea. Raumea, not to be confounded with the warrior brother of Te Uanuku, was treacherously murdered on the summit of Rangimotia, the central peak of Mangaia. The reason of the murder is not clear. The story runs:

> Moerangi, a son of Tokoau, seeing Raumea descending one of the paths from Veitatei on his way to Ivirua, arranged his own rate of progress so as to meet him near the summit of Rangimotia. As Raumea passed, Moerangi threw a sennit rope noose (*puao-'uru*) over his head so as to imprison his arms. Raumea was rendered helpless and was killed. Moerangi drew the corpse under some ironwood trees and covered it with dead leaves. Raumea was missed, and as he had not arrived at Ivirua foul play was suspected. Moerangi, to divert suspicion from himself, made the announcement that if the body was found in the valley the murderer might be himself, but if found on the mountain, then the murder was committed by Ue-vai and Tanga, high chiefs of Paparangi against whom he nursed a grievance. When the body was found on the mountain, Mautara sent for Ue-vai and Tanga and charged them with the murder, which they strongly denied. As they realized that Mautara still suspected them, the two chiefs imbedded two large stones upright in the ground before Mautara's house as an everlasting monument that they spoke the truth. These two rocks are still to be seen firmly imbedded. Mautara accepted their action as absolute proof of their innocence.
>
> Mautara now turned his attention to the accuser, Moerangi, whose plan had miscarried. Moerangi lived at Tamarua. At the same place dwelt Parai, a noted man of

learning (*'are korero*). This was probably the priest of Tongaiti whose assistance had saved Mautara at the battle of Aua, for though Gill spells the name "Parae," it should, most likely, have been "Parai."

Mautara sent a woman to Parai to ask him if he could shed any light on the murder of Raumea. Her instructions were that if Moerangi was present, as he most likely would be, she was to listen to Parai but secretly to watch Moerangi's face during the interview. The woman duly arrived at the house of Parai, where she also found Moerangi. After due greetings, she made known her embassy. Parai immediately said, "Have not Ue-vai and Tanga been charged with the killing?"

"Yes," replied the woman, "but they have proved their innocence by imbedding two upright stones before the house of Mautara."

Parai bent down his head in deep thought. He had reason to suspect Moerangi, but Moerangi was his kinsman. If he evaded with a lie, his reputation as an *'are korero* was at stake. When at last he raised his head with the determination of telling the truth, Moerangi, seated at an angle towards the side of the woman and anxiously watching Parai, felt that he was going to voice his suspicion. Unknown to the woman, as he thought, he caught the glance of Parai, closed his eyes, and bent his head as a signal not to tell. Parai had opened his mouth to speak but he hesitated and then lamely said, "I do not know anything."

The woman returned to Mautara, who asked, "What did you hear?"

The woman said, "Parai says that he does not know anything."

"Now," said Mautara, "what did you see?"

The woman replied, "After I had told him of the innocence of Ue-vai and Tanga, Parai bent his head and remained silent for some time. He finally raised it and opened his mouth to speak, but out of the corner of my eye I saw Moerangi frown, whereupon Parai hesitated with open mouth and said he knew nothing."

"You have done well," said Mautara," Moerangi was the slayer of Ramuea."

The subsequent punishment of Moerangi is told elsewhere. (See p. 160.)

Mautara is supposed to have ruled more than 25 years and to have lived until his teeth dropped out through sheer old age. Much land was planted for food, and it was said that "the chestnut trees fruited on the trunks as well as the branches"—a figure of speech used to denote a period of plenty. No battles occurred. As Gill (12, p. 212) says, the enormous fan and ornamented staff took the place of spear and club. Mautara composed the following chant:

Ua purukia e a'u tamariki	My sons fought battles
E maraerae io Mangaia o —.	That brought peace to Mangaia,
Ka 'aere 'ua ra to raua metua.	So that their father walks about in peace.

During Mautara's rule, his cousin Manaune prospered and became rich in land and authority. Rori, the grandson of the Tahitian craftsman, Una, had, since his escape from the twenty-fourth battle of Maueue, been living in the makatea. Much romance surrounds the story of Rori (12, pp. 222-239), for the technical skill of his grandfather in carving, sennit work, and working stone had been handed on to him. When he escaped, he took with him some of the original red parrakeet feathers that Una had brought from Tahiti. His father had deliberately sacrificed his own life that his son might escape and the family knowledge of craftsmanship might be transmitted to future generations.

In the makatea Rori built himself two houses thatched with birds' nest ferns (*rau-kota'a*), as hala was not available. He made stone adzes but used banyan bark in place of the unobtainable coconut husk fiber. He snared birds and stored up a quantity of feathers for headdresses. From stalactites, he made food pounders. Thus, by means of his craft knowledge, he whiled away the many years of his exile and accumulated much valuable property. On one occasion he left the makatea and joined with the cannibal tribe of Ruanae in the Cave of Terns, but having been warned by a friend that it was proposed to eat him, he again escaped to his home in the makatea. He made sandals of banyan bark to protect his feet from the sharp coral points. On several occasions he was seen and pursued, but his extraordinary fleetness of foot, combined with the use of sandals, made his escape easy. On one occasion he was surprised with his sandals off. He dashed away with them in his hands and, after gaining a little distance, managed to put them on. He then turned to his pursuers and told them to go back, as he had his sandals on. The phrase, "Kua mau nga tamaka o Rori" (Rori has his sandals on), became a saying. The drum of peace sounded after many battles, but Rori had learned to distrust both friend and foe.

Manaune and a companion, going down to the beach, surprised Rori where he was making a meal from the scrap of food discarded by a woman's fishing party. As Rori was about to flee, Manaune recognized him from their previous meeting in the Cave of Terns. Manaune called to him to stay and carve his god for him. The craftsman's interest was aroused and Rori paused. After hearing that Mautara was ruler, and the whole island at peace, Rori accepted Manaune's offer. He thus returned to civilization and was given land and a home in the Ivirua district. The replica of the gods housed in a marae in Keia had been burned and Rori was given the work of reconstruction.

During Mautara's lifetime six of his eight sons had produced issue and they in their turn had produced families. In the sixth generation from Papaaunuku, the Ngati-Vara consisted of one male, Mautara. In the seventh generation it consisted of eight males, making nine with Mautara. The eighth generation assembled 24 more males, and the ninth generation added 92 males. The Ngati-Vara increased in strength and became an actual tribe. They held the power in Mautara's time and the one or two generations following, not because of their numerical strength but through mobilizing other families and groups to their assistance.

After the death of Mautara from natural causes, war broke out. Gill (12, p. 213) states that the new generation wished to avenge the slaughter of their sires. Aiteina states that the battle of Tuopapa (thirty-fifth) in the Tavaenga district was fought between the Ngati-Amai and a section of the Ngati-Vara.

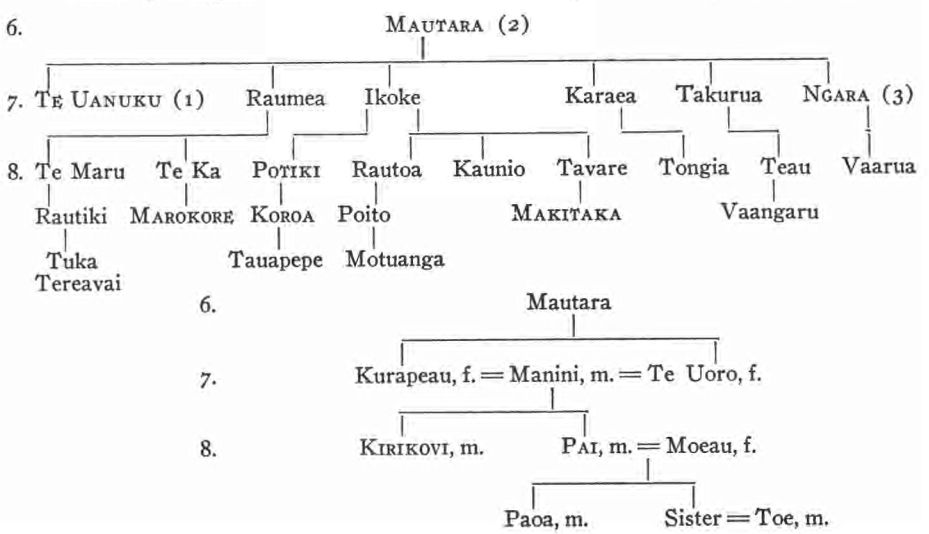
The Ngati-Amai were said to come from Rarotonga and desired to make a bid for supremacy. They were under the leadership of Uarau. In the battle Ikoke, the third son of Mautara, was killed. Both his son, Potiki, and grandson, Koroa, were present and seem to have ruled the Ngati-Vara forces. The Ngati-Amai were defeated, and Potiki called to his son Koroa, asking who should have the power (*'Ei a 'ai te 'au?*), Koroa replied, "Ei 'Uarau." (Uarau.) The father consented, so Koroa pursued the fleeing Uarau, calling upon him to wait (*E 'Uarau no'o mai!*). Uarau fled the faster, but Koroa gained on him and shouted, "E tu mai!" (Stand!) As Uarau came to a standstill Koroa approached him and cried, "'Amama mai to va'a." (Open your mouth.) Uarau obeyed, and Koroa spat into his open mouth, thus transferring to him the power (*'au*) of the winning side.

Uarau was subsequently invested with the supreme temporal power, which he held on the sufferance of the Ngati-Vara. Aiteina could not explain why the fruits of victory should have been handed over to the defeated side, but probably there was some political cause that has been forgotten. Uarau's warrior support (*toko*) was Manini. This Manini was probably the man who had married Mautara's two daughters and who had supported Mautara at the thirty-fourth battle of Aua. He was subsequently murdered by Moerangi at the instigation of Potai, who wished him out of the way, as he was aspiring to power.

Uarau had a short reign of about two years. He decided to hold a feast (*takurua*) on the central peak of Rangimotia. Ngara, the last son of Mautara, who had succeeded his father as priest of Motoro, regarded the idea as an act of excessive pride (*'akangateitei*) in elevating himself above those who had held similar positions. Uarau, at his command, was peacefully deposed from his position by the Ngati-Vara—"I pukea mai te mangaia ia 'Uarau." (The *mangaia* was taken away from Uarau.) A woman named Ike was laid on the altar of Rongo as the sacrifice, and Ngara became Lord of Mangaia without a battle. The title was thus held in order by the eldest son, the father, and the youngest son. Ngara, like Mautara, held both the temporal office of Lord of Mangaia and the religious office of priest of Motoro. He had a peaceful reign of about 15 years (12, p. 213) and died of natural causes.

In order to follow the manner in which the *mangaia* passed to various members of the Ngati-Vara, the main lines of descent from Mautara are given in Table 9.

Table 9.—Ngati-Vara Holders of the Supreme Temporal Power


6. MAUTARA (2)
7. TE UANUKU (1) Raumea Ikoke Karaea Takurua NGARA (3)
8. Te Maru Te Ka POTIKI Rautoa Kaunio Tavare Tongia Teau Vaarua
Rautiki MAROKORE KOROA Poito MAKITAKA Vaangaru
Tuka Tauapepe Motuanga
Tereavai
6. Mautara
7. Kurapeau, f. = Manini, m. = Te Uoro, f.
8. KIRIKOVI, m. PAI, m. = Moeau, f.
Paoa, m. Sister = Toe, m.

After the death of Ngara, Te Ka, a son of Raumea, became priest of Motoro.

It is related that Koroa, grandson of Ikoke, wished a woman named Te-umu-kura to be married to Te Ka, but the woman was frightened of him because he had very prominent eyes. She fled and took refuge with Tongia, son of Karaea, who eventually married her. Tongia returned from fishing with a *pu'i* eel which he handed over to his wife, and then went off to wash his nets and bathe himself in fresh water. While he was away, Te Ka and a younger brother who had been watching from the Ara-kiore track on the inner cliff of the makatea in Keia descended and came to the house. The woman, thinking that the visit was an ordinary one, welcomed them, saying, "Come and sit down while I cook for you the *pu'i* eel caught by your relative." The younger brother had a short weapon concealed in a wrapping. He came up to the woman and killed her. Tongia, on his return, found his wife slain and saw the murderers ascending the Ara-kiore path. He called to them challenging them to wait for him and, seizing his club, was about to dash off in pursuit, when a cousin persuaded him to desist as it was near night.

Subsequently Tongia found that his section of the Ngati-Vara would not assist him in killing Te Ka and his brother. He therefore sought assistance from the Tongaiti tribe and with them attacked Te Ka's family and supporters at the battle of Te-opu (thirty-sixth) in the Karanga district. On the opposing side was Kirikovi, whom Gill (12, p. 213) says was the grandson of Mautara. If so, he must have been the son of Manini who married Mautara's daughter (Table 9), for he does not appear in the male lines from Mautara. In the battle, Marokore, son of the Te Ka, was the *toko* of Kirikovi. Marokore personally engaged his second cousin Tongia and killed him. The Tongaiti were defeated, and the supreme power passed with Marokore's consent to Kirikovi, who was a *tama va'ine* (female line) to Ngati-Vara.

The first victim selected to cement Kirikovi's office was Arauru of the Teipe tribe. When he was placed on the marae of Rongo, Uanuku, a scholar and member of the winning tribe, objected so strongly to the recitation of prayers over the body of his relative that they were not completed. A second victim without powerful friends was selected in Maruata, also of the Teipe tribe. This man, in spite of the promises of safety, was enticed out of his cave of refuge and killed. He formed the "fish of Rongo" which legalized Kirikovi's accession to the title of Lord of Mangaia.

Any doubt as to Kirikovi's being *tama tane* to one of the Ngariki tribes is removed by Koroa's song for Maruata (6, p. 307). In speaking of the promises (*erepua*) of safety made by the victors to Maruata, he says:

Atuia mai taua e!	All alas! soon broken by
Pae atiati Ngariki e!	Deceitful, lying Ngariki.

Kirikovi's rule lasted about five years. During Kirikovi's term of office, Captain Cook appeared off the coast of Mangaia in March 1777 (4, vol. 1, pp. 170-173).

Mourooa, who went aboard the "Resolution" and whose picture, drawn by the artist Webber, appears in Cook's Atlas, was identified by Gill (12, p. 244) through native informants as Mourua, a friend and relative of Kirikovi. He afterwards took the name Kavoro. Mourua told Cook, through the Tahitian interpreter Omai (Mai), that the chief of the island was "Orooaeeka." Leaving out the definite article *O*, which Cook invariably attached to proper names, the word becomes "Rooa-eeka," which is the exact pronunciation of Ruaika. Ruaika II was the ninth High Priest of the Interior and was thus holding the senior High Priest's office at the same time that Kirikovi held the secular power. Kirikovi was among those who swam out to the boats, and he received from Cook a metal ax which was afterwards used for slaying the human victims selected as a sacrifice to Rongo (6, p. 265).

Captain Cook was known to the Mangaians as Tute, and his Tahitian interpreter as Mai. Gill (12, pp. 251-258) recorded a song used in a pantomime description of Captain Cook's visit which was composed by Tioi and formed part of an entertainment organized by Poito, a chief of the Ngati-Vara. Both Tioi and Poito died before the advent of Christianity.

About this time a seemingly trivial incident led to the defeat of Kirikovi and the transfer of the *mangaia* to his brother, Pai (12, pp. 275-282).

A stone thrown in the dark struck Kaiau, brother of Kirikovi, on the chest. Some time after, the culprit, Toe, confessed to his friend Paoa that it was he who had thrown the stone that struck his father Kaiau. Kaiau, learning the name of the offender, wished to kill him but was restrained by the fear of disturbing his brother's reign. However, he made his son promise never to ally in marriage with Toe's family in order that he might wreak his vengeance later should opportunity occur. Paoa, with his wife and sister, went to live in another part. He forgot his promise to his father and allowed his sister to marry his friend Toe. When Kaiau heard what had happened, he was furious with his son and ordered him to leave the island. Paoa sulked over his father's words, and, in spite of the protestations of his wife and friends, he paddled out to sea in a small single canoe determined to leave the island alone and forever. A number of relatives, hearing the news, put out to sea in their small canoes to overtake the fugitive and bring him back. Among them was Te Ivirau, the twelfth High Priest of the Shore. The wind changed and the sea became rough. When night fell, no canoes had returned. The people ashore set fire to the dry undergrowth on the mountain as a beacon. In the middle of the night, several canoes returned with the news that the foremost canoes had almost overtaken Paoa when a huge wave capsized the boats and drowned both the pursuers and the unfortunate fugitive.

Kaiau, hearing of the disaster which had drowned prominent men as well as his son, became frantic with grief. He took the name Pai (Voyaging-canoe) to commemorate the death of his son. He determined on a plan of revenge to kill, first of all, Toe, whom he blamed for the whole misfortune. He called in his cousin, Mourua, and their followers went on killing until the people ranged into two parties, one supporting the temporal lord Kirikovi and the other his brother, Pai. A fratricidal battle was fought at Taukuara (thirty-seventh battle) in the Keia district. Kirikovi was defeated and Pai declared Lord of Mangaia. Before the marae ceremonies could be completed, Mourua was killed at night in a surprise attack carried out by Kirikovi and his friends.

The reasons for the selection of Kirikovi and Pai as temporal Lords of Mangaia are not clear. The Ngati-Vara were still powerful and had not been defeated in battle. Tongia fought as an individual with the Tongaiti because his own section of the Ngati-Vara would not espouse his cause against another section of the tribe. Evidently the battle between the two brothers, Kirikovi and Pai, was a family affair which concerned their own divided

tribe. The leader of the winning force automatically took office as Lord of Mangaia after the religious ceremony. The powerful Ngati-Vara looked on while the office of ruler passed temporarily out of their hands. A train of events, however, took place which was to force them again into the fighting arena.

Potai, a nephew of Namu, the Ruler of Food, was an ambitious man of one of the Ngariki tribes. He had engaged in the various minor engagements during the campaign of Pai. (See 12, pp. 283-285.) Potai was utterly unscrupulous and began removing people who might stand in his way to supreme power.

By pretending a mortal sickness he induced his uncle Namu and the great warrior Manini to visit him. While in his house, both were slain by a party of Tongaiti whom Potai had invited to carry out the murders. Though he could not shed his tribesmen's blood during peace, he held his uncle by the hair until the Tongaiti slew him. This disregard for the claims of kinship is referred to by the poet warrior Koroa in a lament for Namu (12, p. 158).

Mamae's manuscript describes the events leading to a change of regime:

In the division of the Ngariki owing to the struggle between Kirikovi and Pai, Potai had ranged himself on the side of Kirikovi. He plotted the death of Mourua, or Kavoro, as he was the chief supporter of Pai. Before the murder Mourua was encamped with a party of friends at Avarua for the purpose of fishing. In the party were Te-aki and Vaitumu of the Te-aaki tribe and also Rautoa, son of Ikoke by his second wife Mika and a prominent member of the Ngati-Vara. Rautoa was a learned man (*'are korero*) devoted to the services of his god (*e tangata miri atua*) Tane, though most of the Ngati-Vara had changed to the worship of Te-Aio. Potai wished to be rid of Rautoa because of his status in the Ngati-Vara. The Ngariki, recognizing that the god Tane was in Rautoa (*tei roto i a ia taua atua ra o Tane*), were also inimically disposed to Rautoa, for they had maintained an inherited animosity to the Ngati-Tane which included any followers of the god Tane. In the plot laid against the members of the fishing party, Potai had especially exhorted his men to be sure to include Rautoa in the killing. Kirikovi, who was related to Rautoa on his mother's side and had also a personal friendship for him, came to him secretly at night (*'aere poiri*) and warned him not to sleep at Oneroa or he would be killed. The next day Rautoa visited his half-brother Potiki and his kinsmen Te-Ka, Te-pa, and Uri-aute in the Veitatei district. They had a family feast with the drinking of kava. Rautoa's farewell words to Uri-aute were "E Uri e, nga atua!" (O Uri, the gods!) The farewell indicated that he was prepared to die for his god, and was also an exhortation to his kinsmen to remain faithful to the gods even though death threatened. He pressed noses with his kinsmen and returned to Oneroa. That night the Kirikovi section of the Ngariki under Potai attacked the fishing camp, and Rautoa, Mourua (Kavoro), Te-aki, and Vaitumu were slain. The same night Kaukare, a leading chief of the Ngati-Tane, was killed in his home at Tamarua. Takurua of the Ngati-Vara was also killed.

These killings not only prevented the carrying out of the ceremonials connected with the *mangaia* of Pai, but they precipitated a wider conflict. The Ngati-Vara under the leadership of Potiki, son of Ikoke by his first wife, took the field to avenge the murder of Rautoa. The force of Potai numbered 200 (*rau*); that of Potiki was only 120 (*ono takau*). The battle was regularly arranged and took place at Akaoro in the Keia district:

The field (*ta'ua*) was cleared of bananas and shrubs, and the Ngati-Vara drew up into position. The day was well advanced and Potai made no move to place his men in position opposite the ranks of Ngati-Vara. Te-Ka, a son of Potiki, threupon taunted Potai, saying, "Pota'i o i, e a'a ai e roa ai?" (O Potai, why is it so long?) To this Potai replied, "Vao'o ra o taua anatu ma'ie 'ua ra, ia karo ke i te ra. O te ra e 'opu atu, o au atu ia." (Let our meeting wait a while that the sun may be gazed upon. The sun that sets may be me.) Potai's premonition of the setting of his life was realized, for in the engagement that followed he was slain by Potiki.

The battle of Akaoro was the thirty-eighth in Mangaian history and by it the Ngati-Vara regained the supreme power. The rule of Pai automatically ended without his having been properly inducted to office. Potiki, the leader of the victorious force in the last battle, became Lord of Mangaia and was regularly inducted. Gill (12, p. 311) places the date as somewhere about 1787.

The rule of Potiki extended over a prosperous period. Toward its end it was broken by jealousies among the leading families of Ngati-Vara. The tribe split into two factions, the leader of one being Marokore, a son of Te-Ka, who had succeeded his uncle Ngara as official priest of Motoro. Marokore was a warrior of note, having been the prop of Kirikovi in his first campaign. Old grievances were remembered against the Tongaiti tribe and a number of them were killed. The depleted tribe planned a surprise midnight attack on the Ngati-Vara, but the plot was revealed by a woman and failed.

The remnants of the Tongaiti took refuge in the cave of Tautua in the Tamarua district, where they were safe, as the entrance could be reached only by a ladder. The Ngati-Vara, enraged by the plot against them, resolved to exterminate the Tongaiti. They could not carry the cave by assault, but they blockaded the entrance. Their only sustenance was that brought by the wives and relatives who were allowed to visit them. The Ngati-Vara, however, determined on extermination, began searching all visitors and depriving them of any food concealed in their belts or long hair. In spite of a little food which came in through a secret passage at the back of the cave, the Tongaiti were being starved to death. They became so weak that they could hardly keep guard at the mouth of the cave. On one occasion an enemy named Terake climbed up the ladder at night and killed the sleeping guard, Ngakau-varaea, with the iron ax that Captain Cook had given Kirikovi. Another fugitive named Matenga was saved by his wife, who was a sister of Raoa, an influential chief in Keia (12, p. 291). Now and then a refugee was caught while searching for food. The bodies of the slain were collected and sun dried. When they had accumulated to about 50, they were taken and offered up on the marae of Orongo, on the coast.

At last the governing tribe decided to put an end to the fighting by electing Marokore as supreme ruler. An official human sacrifice to Rongo was needed. A warrior armed with Captain Cook's ax climbed up the ladder to the Tautua cave and killed Ngutuku, the sleeping guard. The remaining survivors within the cave were too weak to offer any active opposition, so the body of Ngutuku was thrown down the cliff and borne off as the sacrifice to Rongo.

The rule of Potiki ended thus, and the *mangaia* passed to Marokore without any definite battle. The drum of peace was sounded and the few survivors of Tongaiti were saved from extermination. The rule of Marokore

was evidently of short duration. Aiteina states that the next battle was due to a land squabble.

Komata, a son of Te Tonga of Ngati-Tane, had been awarded the chieftainship over the district known as the Pauru-o-Rongo-i-katau (Tamarua). He wished to add to it the district of the Pauru-o-Rongo-i-kaui (Ivirua). This desire was opposed by the section of Ngati-Vara under Koroa, the son of Potiki, and supported by Marokore, the Lord of Mangaia. The two sections of Ngati-Vara met at the battle of Te-atu-apai (thirty-ninth) in the Ivirua district. Marokore was killed and the *mangaia* passed to Koroa, the leader of the victorious section of Ngati-Vara.

Koroa was a great poet as well as leader, and many of the death chants composed by him are recorded by Gill. He was also a *tirango* (expert) responsible for providing the knowledge and ceremonial in connection with fishing and was said to be absolutely fearless on the sea.

According to Aiteina, considerable jealousy was aroused in the families of the younger sons of Mautara, Karaea, Takurua, and Ngara.

Though a dispute had occurred between the senior Raumea and Ikoke families, the junior families began to envy their senior cousins, not only because of their power over the lands but because they had a greater share of women, owing to their success in war. Vaarua, a son of Ngara, thereupon stole Poroiti, a wife of his nephew Koroa, the supreme ruler. Vaarua was promptly evicted from the land he held at Oaki in the Veitatei district. A second cousin named Vaangaru, descended from Tukurua (Table 8), saw him weeping and asked the cause. Vaarua replied, "Ua tangi i te marumaru ko'atu i O'aki." (I weep for the shade of the rocks at Oaki.) Vaangaru repeated the saying to his elders and they explained that the words referred to the eviction of Vaarua. Vaangaru determined to restore his cousin to his lands by arms and raised a force among the dissatisfied junior families. To obtain success, a man named Ika-kona was killed at Tamarua as a sacrifice to Rongo. The body was carried to the official marae of Akaoro in the Keia district, but as Koroa lived in the intervening district of Veitatei, the body was taken around the back of the island through Ivirua so as to avoid any chance of interference at Veitatei. Koroa, however, appeared at the marae and taunted his junior cousin, Vaangaru, on his immaturity with the words, "To ure piapia." (Your glans penis [is still covered] with smegma.) The taunt conveyed the idea that Vaangaru was so young that he had not yet gained experience in sex matters, let alone aspiring to fight. Vaangaru replied with considerable spirit, "E ure piapia 'ua ra ia e a'u taeake, noku ra ia teia kai'ara." (I may only have such a penis, O my relatives, but the victory in battle will be mine.) Koroa asked where the battlefield (*vai tamaki*) should be and the answer was at Rangi-ura in Veitatei.

The Ngati-Vara was thus involved in another intratribal war (*tamaki kopu tangata*). On his side Vaangaru enlisted Makitaka, a grandson of Ikoke by his second wife Mika. Makitaka, who had succeeded Te Ka as priest of Motoro and was ninth priest from Papaaunuku, was probably jealous of Koroa, who was descended from Ikoke's first wife, and saw an opportunity of wresting the power from his senior cousin. In the battle of Rangi-ura (fortieth), Koroa was defeated. According to Gill (12, p. 311) he was killed, but Aiteina maintains that he was not slain until a later battle. The power thus passed to the younger branches of Ngati-Vara, and Makitaka was elected supreme ruler.

Makitaka's rule lasted about three years and was marked by a season of famine. Discontent grew up among the people, and his reign (*'au*) was referred to disparagingly in song.

Te 'au o Makitaka,	The reign of Makitaka
E 'au kai tuitui.	[Was] a candlenut-eating reign.

Makitaka was deposed, without battle, by a combination of two tribes that had been increasing steadily in numbers while the Ngati-Vara were being torn by intratribal warfare.

Resurrection of the Ngati-Tane

The Ngati-Tane had been almost exterminated in the second oven (*umu ti*) that inaugurated the rule of Kaveutu. Of the three named survivors, Te-Ko married Mautara and her Ngati-Tane blood was absorbed into Ngati-Vara. Te-punga, priest of Tane, was killed by the Ngariki and offered as a sacrifice to Rongo by Tuanui, the Ngariki supreme ruler. Instead of casting the body into the bushes at the back of the marae of Orongo, after the ritual the Ngariki cut the head off, cooked and sent it as a food present to Mautara. Mautara, though the official priest of the Ngariki god Motoro, himself worshiped Tane. The action was intended to show Mautara that the god he represented was more powerful than the god he served. The Ngariki virtually told him to eat his own god. Te-vaki, a learned man and adept in the use of weapons, was now the sole male survivor of the Ngati-Tane, and only through him could the tribe be resurrected from the dead. He took upon himself the position of official priest to Tane and devised the scheme by which Mautara avenged the insult offered by the Ngariki and at the same time avenged the death of his own priest.

Mautara, while officiating in the marae of Motoro, took kava and announced that Motoro required a great sacrifice from his worshipers. The voice of Motoro, issuing from the mouth of Mautara, demanded that on a certain day the leading Ngariki families should sacrifice and eat their first-born in honor of the god Rongo. Against the command of the god there was no possible appeal, and the fearful sacrifice was carried out. Thus Mautara avenged the insult with interest, for not only were the Ngariki forced to sacrifice their dearest, but actually to eat them, whereas Mautara had not eaten the head of Te-punga and could himself come to no harm, for the command was given by Motoro and not by the priest.

The hatred of Ngariki against the worshipers of Tane was now directed against Te-vaki and his four sons.

Te-vaki and his four sons were hunted from refuge to refuge, and finally all the sons were killed. Te-vaki hid in the fastnesses of the Tavaenga makatea, but at last, in desperation, he sought out Mautara at night. Mautara sent his two eldest sons, Te-uanuku and Raumea, to convey Te-vaki at night to a cave in Putoa where he was left with a supply of provisions. Sometime afterwards, Mautara's sons brought Te-vaki back to Mautara's house, as the enemy had begun to suspect that the fugitive was hidden in Putoa. As priest of Motoro, Mautara had part of his house curtained off with a

screen of bark cloth (*pa tikoru*), which recess was sacred as the sanctuary of the god. Te-vaki was concealed within the *pa tikoru,* where he was safe from any attack by the Ngariki. The place of refuge eventually became known and armed men kept watch near the house in the hope that Te-vaki might venture forth. Even Toko-au, Mautara's military supporter, urged the advisability of killing Te-vaki. Mautara remained firm in his protection, and his power is indicated by the fact that Te-vaki remained in safety for a year in the curtained room though his armed foes were constantly prowling round seeking his destruction. When the supreme temporal power passed from the Ngariki to the Mautara family, Te-vaki emerged from his refuge and enjoyed safety in the peaceful reign of Mautara. He was given land and became a man of influence.

While Te-vaki was being hunted in the makatea after the death of his four sons he had the desire to continue his family line.

Te-vaki decided upon the daughter of a chief named Te-rangi-tataia as a suitable person for the mother of his child. He caught a fish to provide a material form of approach and hid himself in a grove of bamboos beside the water spring near the girl's home. When the girl, Te Kura-a-rou, came to the spring for water, Te-vaki showed himself and held up the fish. Kura-a-rou took the fish back to her father, and then returned to the spring to ask Te-vaki what he wanted to say to her. Te-vaki proposed to her that she should have a child by him to continue his line. She replied, "What is the use? As soon as it is known that the child is yours, it will be killed." Te-vaki said, "You must conceal the fact that I am the father by attributing the parentage to someone else who is not hated." The girl consented, and in due time a male child was born. The child was named after the front-hanging end (*taumua*) of the loin girdle (*maro*) of his mother's father, hence Taumua-maro-i-te-Rangi-tataia. When sufficiently grown, he was spirited away by Te-vaki, who placed him under the protection of Mautara. He grew up under the shadow of Mautara with Mautara's sons and was taught the use of arms by Te-vaki.

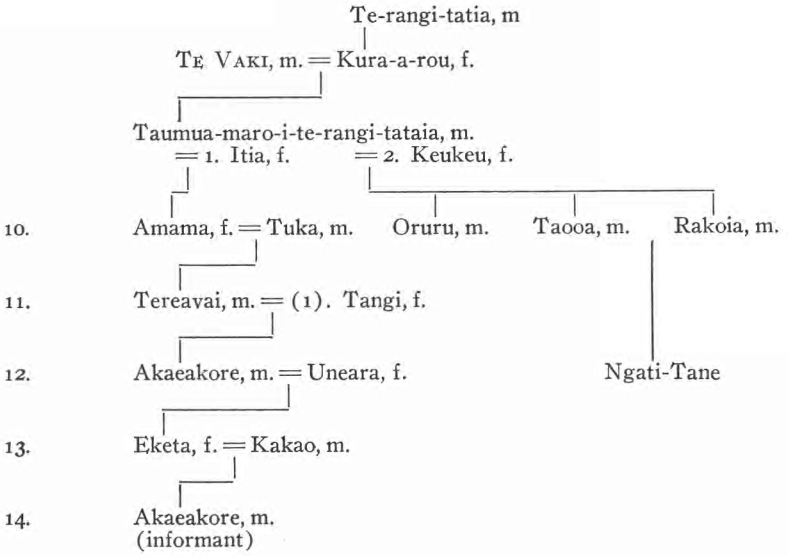
When Te-vaki's son, Taumua, grew up, the question of continuing his line came up.

Mautara told Taumua to go in to Itia, a girl in the retinue of his wife Te-ko, at night, and if the girl resisted slay her. Te-ko, who liked the girl and did not wish her to suffer violence, instructed her that if a man came in to her at night and placed his hand upon her breast, she must not scream or resist. She was to grasp his wrist and draw him down beside her. Itia carried out instructions and became with child. The child born was a girl and was named Amama. She grew up and married Tuka, a Ngati-Vara descended from Raumea. Her offspring thus became Ngati-Vara.

Taumua married a second wife named Keukeu by whom he had male children from whom the true Ngati-Tane of the present day are descended.

Confusion exists as to authentic Ngati-Tane pedigrees from Taumua. According to my Ngati-Vara informants, the Ngati-Tane were reinforced by a later tribe from Rarotonga named Ngati-Amai. The Ngati-Amai are somewhat disparagingly referred to by the older tribes as *no te pa'i mai* (from the voyaging canoe) so as to stress their more recent origin. The mixed Ngati-Tane and Ngati-Amai are thus inclined to conceal their Ngati-Amai descent and attribute it all to Ngati-Tane stock through a son of Taumua. Tamangaro, a blind Ngati-Tane, gave me a couple of pedigrees which neither Aiteina nor Akaeakore accept. Akaeakore gave a pedigree (Table 10) showing his own descent on the Ngati-Vara side and indicating the males from whom the Ngati-Tane are descended.

Table 10.—The descendants of Te-vaki



Note: As in the type genealogy (Table 3), Tuka appears in the tenth generation. Though Makitaka, the deposed temporal ruler, appears with Koroa in generation 9, making the allowance between senior and junior lines, Tuka and Makitaka were contemporaries.

Tamangaro gave Te-tonga, a prominent chief, as the son of Taumua and his first wife Itia, but this is strongly denied by my Ngati-Vara informants. They held that Te-tonga did not descend directly from Te-vaki but is to be ascribed to Ngati-Amai stock. Be this as it may, Te-tonga produced a powerful family, which played a significant part in the Ngati-Tane and Ngati-Manaune alliance. His children are here listed:

Te-tonga, m. = Maikai, f.

—Arakino, m.
—Roinga-puruki, m.
—Tungane, f. = Poito (of Ngati-Vara)
—Arokapiti, m.
—Kie, f. = Atatoa, m.
—Maungaati, m.
—Peranui, f.
—Iikai, f.

Makitaka, as priest of Motoro, was succeeded by Tereavai (Table 10), the son of Tuka. It is thus evident that the Ngati-Tane, who rose up against Makitaka, could have consisted of only one generation of people, or, in other words, of the sons of Taumua and his second wife, Keukeu. The

Ngati-Vara contention that the Ngati-Tane were strongly reinforced by another tribe seems correct. Cross marriages between the descendants of Te-vaki through Taumua and the Ngati-Amai has led to their fusion into one tribal group.

Growth of the Ngati-Manaune

The term *manahune* was applied in Tahiti to the common people. In Hawaii, the *menehune* were stated to be a people of short stature, skilled in stonework, who occupied the islands before the advent of the more dominant families from Tahiti. In Mangaia, the Ngati-Manaune were a definite tribe showing descent from an eponymous ancestor, Manaune. The term does not refer to a grade of society or a distinct early wave of settlement as in Tahiti and Hawaii.

Manaune had been adopted by his cousin Mautara. His father, Rurae, was descended from Tama-keu, who belonged to the Manarangi family in Rarotonga. According to my informants, Tama-keu chanced to come to Mangaia on a canoe voyage planned to carry him to Raiatea in a canoe newly made at Kiikii.

> In the evening Tama-keu and some young men decided to give the canoe a trial trip around the island of Rarotonga. They started from Avarua, but off Matavera a *parapu* wind sprang up that was too strong to tack against. The canoe ran before the wind and made for Mangaia. On picking up the west coast of that island, the wind veered to the *tokerau* and the canoe had to sail round to Ivirua in the north to make a landing. The canoe came ashore through the Ovarea channel in Karanga-nui. Women who were torching on the reef took the men inland. As they were few in number and unarmed, their lives were spared and they became associated with the Ngariki tribe.

The Tama-keu story looks like a variation of the story of Tamaeu recorded by Gill (12, pp. 240-242). The points of difference are the absence of the letter *k* in the name, the canoe coming from Aitutaki, the landing on the south side of the island, and the later return of Tamaea to Aitutaki. The story illustrates, at least, how new blood was infused into the population. The importance of an ancestor depends upon the status and numerical strength attained by his descendants.

I must frankly confess that I do not think the genealogy in Table 11 is correct. It is about three generations too short. Mautara and Manaune were first cousins and thus on the same genealogical stratum 6 as shown in Table 3. Tangi-Vaipo in generation 10 (Table 11) marries Vaa-kai-tamaki in generation 14 (Table 3) with the result that the child Au-metua is 13 generations on the Manaune line and 17 on the Ngati-Vara line. Furthermore, Revareva, whose other name is Pangemiro, is given as a younger brother of Manaune. If it was necessary for Mautara to adopt Manaune in order to save his life, it should have been necessary for him to adopt Revareva also, yet there is no record of such an adoption. Revareva could not live

through the long reign of Mautara in the sixth generation and then supplant Makitaka, who lived three generations later.

The eight sons of Manaune and his wife Takina were a source of fighting strength to the new tribe and were poetically referred to as being bound together like a coconut leaf torch.

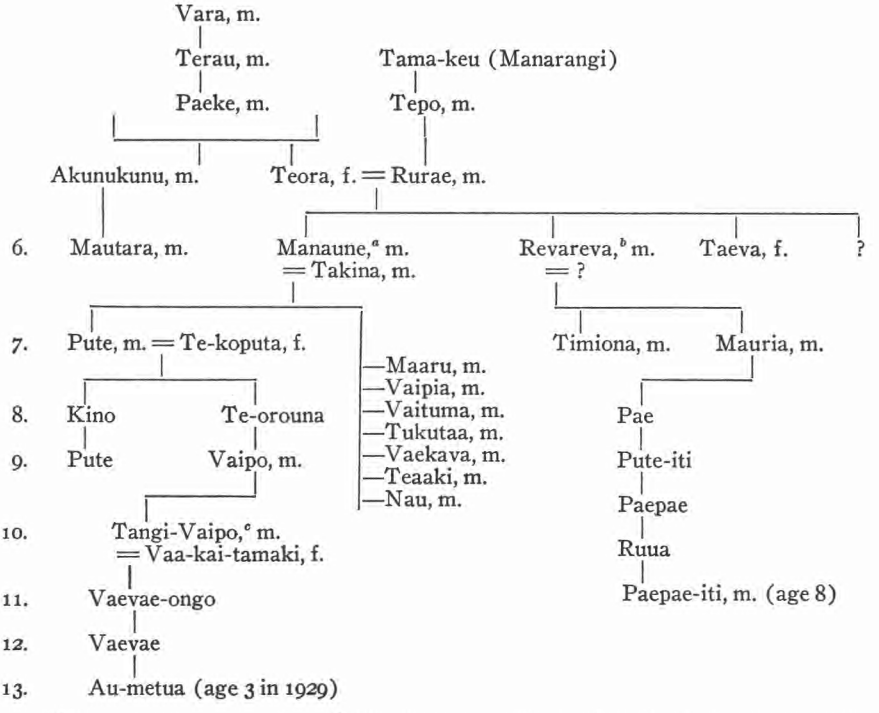
'Ua ruru a rama te 'anau a Takina,
Ko Pute ra ko Ma'aru,
Ko Vaipi'a ra ko Vaitumu,
Ko Tukuta'a ra ko Vaekava,
Ko Te-'a'aki ra ko Nau,
I te rurunga i te Mana'une.

Bound together as a torch are the family of Takina,
There are Pute and Maaru,
Vaipia and Vaitumu,
Tukutaa and Vaekava,
Teaaki and Nau,
In the binding together of the Manaune.

All these sons were given shares of land in 5 of the 6 districts of Mangaia after the accession of their uncle Revareva to the supreme rulership.

There seems little doubt that Revareva, or Pangemiro, was a younger brother of Manaune and that the generations following the two brothers in Table 11 are correct. What has evidently happened is that a Manaune of a

Table 11.—The Manaune Descent



[a] The eponymous ancester. [b] Also known as Pangemiro, the last supreme ruler of Mangaia. [c] The present chief of the Ivirua district.

later period has been identified with the Manaune who was the contemporary of Mautara. Between the two Manaunes about three generations have been omitted.

The descent from Rurae and Tamakeu of the Manarangi family is referred to in song celebrating Revareva's accession to power.

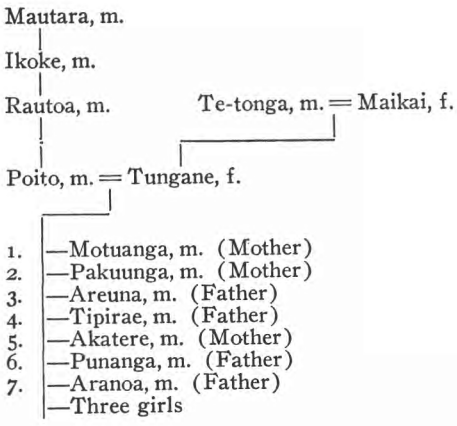
Rurae metua ia ne'e,	Rurae, father of old,
la 'anau ia Revareva,	From whom was born Revareva,
la pua ake i Karanga.	Who grew up in Karanga.
O Te Oro'una na tinainga i te vai uru.	Te Orouna was the extinguisher in battles.
Ei Manarangi au e.	Descended from Manarangi am I.
Ka mau Miro e te rae.	Pangemiro secures the supreme power.

Some difference of opinion exists concerning the identity of Te Orouna in Table 11 with the person mentioned above. It is maintained by some that Te Orouna of the genealogy never took part in any of the battles and therefore could not be the extinguisher (*tinainga*) referred to in the song. Tangi-Vaipo naturally takes up the other side and holds that the song refers to his grandfather.

Ngati-Tane and Manaune Alliance

While the Ngati-Vara were fighting among themselves and quarreling with sections of the Ngariki, the Ngati-Tane and Manaune families enjoyed a respite from persecution. As both Te-vaki and Manaune enjoyed the protection and friendship of Mautara, the Ngati-Vara had no active animosity toward these growing families. Furthermore, Mautara worshiped Tane and in spite of the subsequent transfer of allegiance to the god Te-aio it is evident from the incident regarding Rautoa (p. 70) that a section of the Ngati-Vara continued to worship Tane. In the providing of human sacrifices to Rongo, the Ngati-Tane also enjoyed a respite, for the Ngati-Vara turned their attention to the Tongaiti as victims and almost exterminated that tribe. The Ngariki, split by the dissensions between its three sections, were in an unorganized condition. When the dissatisfaction against the "candlenut rule" (*'au kai tuitui*) reached its height, Makitaka, the last supreme ruler of Ngati-Vara, found himself opposed by the leading families of Manaune and Ngati-Tane, who owed their very existence to the clemency of the great Mautara. The Manaune families were under the leadership of Revareva, the younger brother of Manaune. Of the mixed Ngati-Tane and Ngati-Amai group, a leading family was that of Te-tonga. Of his sons, Arokapiti was a prominent warrior. Two of his daughters, Tungane and Kie, made marriages which brought male children into the group on the female side. Tungane married Poito of Ngati-Vara, and the sharing of children resulted (Table 12).

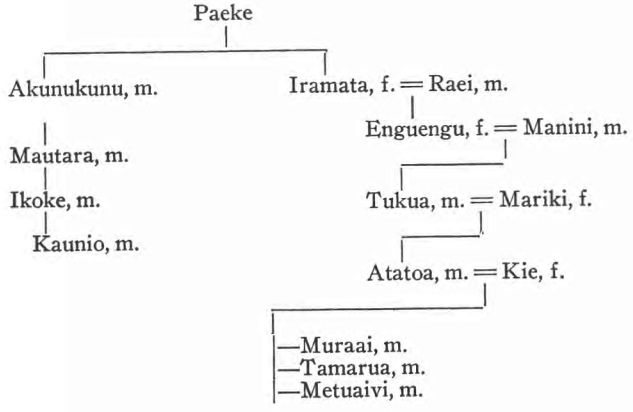
Table 12.—Genealogy of Te-tonga



Of the family of 7 sons, 4 remained with the father and 3 went to the mother's tribe. It was not explained why the first and second sons both went to the mother's share, as one would have expected the eldest son to remain with the father. Both Motuanga and Pakuunga became a source of strength to the Ngati-Tane.

Another important marriage was that of Kie to Atatoa, a chief of Keia and a member of one of the Ngariki divisions (Table 13).

Table 13.—Genealogy of Paeke



Iramata was given in Mamae's manuscript as a sister of Akunukunu of Ngati-Vara. Kaunio, during the faction fights between Ngati-Vara, became bitterly opposed to Atatoa for supporting the section opposed to him.

Kie, fearful that the enmity against the father would be directed against her children, persuaded her family to adopt her children, Mura-ai and his brothers, into the Ngati-Tane tribe. Thus when Kaunio attacked and slew both Atatoa and his father Tukua, the children of Atatoa remained safe from attack. Kie was a very handsome woman and was referred to in song as *te tau'inu para o Marua* (the fair-leaved *tauinu* of Marua). Marua is the place where the Atatoa family lived in Keia. Kie displayed the greatest courage in remaining beside Atatoa during the attack and carrying her mortally wounded husband from cave to cave in her attempt to save his life. The other section of Ngati-Vara came to the succor of Atatoa, but too late to save his life. To requite the kindness of those who had tried to save him, Atatoa, before he died, gave one of them, Kapua, the authority over the makatea in the Keia district. Koroa and Tuka, who were both in the section of Ngati-Vara supported by Atatoa, composed laments to his memory. In the lament by Tuka, reference is made to the adoption of Kie's children into the mother's tribe (12, p. 299).

Na'ai ra e ranga?
Na Tamarua, na Metua-iviivi,
Na tama va'ine ia Tane e!
E Mura-a'i aura koe e vavao e!
Kia 'u'una atu ite mata ra i te metua e —.

Who shall obtain revenge?
Tamarua and Metua-iviivi,
The children allotted on the female side to N'Tane!
O Mura-ai never forget,
Thy father's face was hidden away.

NOTE: Tuka, the poet, evidently looked upon Kie as belonging to the Ngati-Tane tribe. The revenge referred to was for the death of Atatoa.

By the adoption of Mura-ai and his brothers the Ngati-Tane was further strengthened. Arokapiti, the third son of Te-tonga, was a leader of the Ngati-Tane. Parima was also a leading chief. The priest of Tane was Vaekura.

The political alliance of Manaune and Ngati-Tane forced the abdication of Makitaka. Makitaka was deserted by the chiefs who had formerly accepted him. Revareva, the leader of the Manaune, was selected as the temporal lord, and he succeeded Makitaka without any opposition in battle from the divided Ngati-Vara. He could not take office, however, without a human sacrifice to Rongo.

The Manaune held a meeting in their district of Karanga. They consulted their priest as to who should be the sacrifice, and their god, speaking through the priest, said, "O Teata." A Manaune warrior named Te Orouna announced that he would secure the victim. Te Orouna, however, was diverted from the immediate quest of the victim through an amour with a Ngati-Tane woman. Day dawned without his having secured the victim. Since then his family have been taunted as failing in achievement through being deflected to sex matters.

The delay, however, enabled Ngati-Tane to hear of the Manaune meeting. Arokapiti sought further details from the Manaune but was everywhere told, "Kare mau i reira." (There is nothing for you there.) The Manaune wished to do without the services of Ngati-Tane in securing the sacrifice, as it influenced the distribution of land which was to follow. Arokapiti, however, found that the victim nominated was to be Teata who lived in Tamarua. On the next night, when the Manaune warriors arrived at Tamarua, they were immediately joined by Arokapiti and some of his warriors. The hut of Teata was found to be empty.

Teata had left his residence and was staying in a house built on poles in a taro swamp. That same evening Teata, his sister's son Rokoia, and another relative had been rehearsing songs and discussing the prevailing famine. According to Gill (6, p. 303), Teata, who belonged to one of the tribes dedicated to providing victims for sacrifice, patted his own head and said, "Could they only get this (as an offering) the gods would send plenty again." Rakoia, on returning to his own hut, met the searching warriors. As he foresaw a reward in land for information regarding the victim, he led the way to the place where Teata was staying. A race took place among the warriors as to who should be first to slay the "fish." One version states that Arokapiti entered the hut first and killed Teata. Another version maintains that the first spear to enter the body of the sleeping victim was that of Ararua and the second that of Mauria, a son of Revareva. Be this as it may, Arokapiti insisted that the victim be carried to the marae in Keia by the direct route on the right side of the island and not by the longer route through the Manaune territory in Ivirua and Karanga. The victim was thus carried through Arokapiti's territory, and his share in the proceedings could not be overlooked.

The victim was laid on the marae that night and thus ushered in the rule of Revareva, who took the new name, Pangemiro. According to Gill (12, p. 311), the date was about 1814.

The feelings of Makitaka at his desertion and the loss of his temporal authority were expressed by the poet Tuka. A portion of the song recorded by Gill (6, p. 314) is given below, but I have departed from his translation.

Ua riro rai Mangaia rai e te'au Ua 'e ia Makitaka, O te ivi koia i 'akamoea i e!	Mangaia is lost to me and the rule. Disaster came to Makitaka, The people also have been deceived.
Teipoi arire riro ake ra Mangaia e i te rave. Ia Makitaka te ua. A motu te toa ia Ngaki te miro.	Alas! Mangaia has gone through craft. The power was with Makitaka But his prowess was ended by the victory of Tane-ngaki-au.
Ia Ngaki te miro ia Te'ata:	Tane-ngaki-au had victory through Teata:
O te uri 'oki na 'Aemata. Tei nunga ē i te kapua. Kore rai ooku taeake, Korekore rai e taeake tangi e!	A descendant of Aemata, Placed upon the altar. I have no friends, No friends to weep for me!
E tini na Tane i ka riro Mangaia.	Through the multitude of Ngati-Tane Mangaia has passed [from me].

After the placing of the sacrifice upon the marae, the sympathies of Te Ao, the Inland High Priest of Rongo were opposed to Pangemiro. He refused to sound the drum of peace on the grounds that Pangemiro was too young to hold the position of supreme ruler. This statement supports the

contention that the Manaune and Revareva listed in Table 11 could not have been contemporaries of Mautara, and that about three generations have been omitted from the genealogy. The opinion of Te Ao found expression in the following song composed by Makitaka's sister.

Mangaia kiritia,	Power cast away,
Mangaia raveravea,	Power being played with,
Raveravea 'ua 'ia e teia takinga tamariki.	Played with by a youthful generation.
Takinga tangata e —	A generation of men is discarded,
Takinga i te tamariki.	A generation of children supplants them.

In spite of the lapse in ritual, Pangemiro retained the power. He lived in the Karanga district, and the position of authority and the taro lands were divided up among the leading chiefs of Manaune and Ngati-Tane. The Ngati-Vara had lost their supremacy but were still a force to be reckoned with. According to Aiteina, Koroa had not been killed in the last battle of Rangi-ura as Gill records (12, p. 311).

After about seven years of Pangemiro's rule, the factions of the Ngati-Vara joined together to make a bid for temporal supremacy. The battle-field was Araeva in the Keia district. The Ngati-Tane determined to insure success by offering a voluntary sacrifice to Rongo during the battle.

The person selected to offer his life was Maungaati, a younger brother of Arokapiti, who was to allow himself to be killed in the name of Rongo during the early part of the battle. After the battle commenced, Arokapiti sought out Koroa to avenge an insult about his head.

One day as Arokapiti of Ngati-Tane was having his hair combed, Koroa passed a disparaging remark saying, "E a'a e upoko tapu? Va'i ki te aro'a." (What, is it a sacred head? Split it open with a four-sided club.) As his head was not sacred, it could be split open without any trouble.

Koroa at this time must have been a much older man than Arokapiti. The two met, and youth prevailed. As Arokapiti pierced Koroa with his spear, he said, "O te upoko tapu." (It is the sacred head.) The battle continued to be waged for a considerable time without success to the Ngati-Tane. Arokapiti thereupon found that his younger brother Maungaati had stayed at home with his wife and refused to come to the battle to offer himself up as the "fish" of Rongo. Arokapiti decided to offer himself in his brother's place and thus bring victory to his tribe. He went out of the fight temporarily, plucked a ripe banana, and ate it to fortify himself. He then returned to the battle and allowed himself to be killed by the enemy. This voluntary sacrifice to Rongo turned the day, and the combined forces of Manaune and Ngati-Tane prevailed over Ngati-Vara.

The victory over Ngati-Vara in the battle of Araeva (the forty-first battle in Mangaian history) gave Pangemiro his second *mangaia*. Reonatia (6, p. 304) was selected as the victim for sacrifice to Rongo.

Reonatia was betrayed to the searching warriors by Rouvi and speared on his return from fishing at night. The body was borne to the marae of the Inland High Priest in Keia and left there. The cold air revived Reonatia, who had not been killed by the spear which transfixed him. He managed to crawl off the marae and ascend the hillside for a few yards. The returning warriors, however, discovered him and dispatched him with a stone adz. The body was again laid on the altar, but dissension

arose over the manner in which the victim had been offered. It was held that the gods were angry, and it can be inferred from his former disagreement with Pangemiro that Te Ao, the Inland High Priest, was only too ready to seize upon the incident as a reason for obstructing the ceremonies. Owing to the refusal of Te Ao to accept the victim at the inland marae, the victim was not taken on to the shore marae of Orongo and hence the drum of peace could not be sounded.

The slaying of Reonatia took place a month or two before the arrival of the first missionaries in 1823. He was the last victim to be offered to Rongo.

Te Ao, as Inland High Priest, had authority over the subdistrict of Rupetau-i-uta in the district of Keia. After his refusal to sound the drum of peace on Pangemiro's first election, he had made friends with Vaipo, who was chief over the subdistrict of Taiti in the district of Tavaenga. Vaipo gave Te Ao a share of land in Taiti. Later Te Ao began to plot with sections of the Ngati-Tane to dispose of Vaipo by having him made a human sacrifice for some ceremony so that he might succeed in chieftainship over the Taiti subdistrict. Vaipo, however, discovered the plot and deprived Te Ao of the land he had given him in Taiti. Pangemiro also had a grudge against him, and, as his power was assured by the battle of Araeva, he deprived Te Ao of his office of Inland High Priest. He conferred the office upon Numangatini, whom he had appointed Shore High Priest after his first accession. For the first time in history, the office of Inland High Priest and Shore High Priest were combined. Numangatini was both *ariki-pa-uta* and *ariki-pa-tai.*

In the distribution of office and land which followed Pangemiro's victory, the titles of *pava* over the six districts (*puna*) into which Mangaia had been divided and the titles of *kairanga nuku* over the subdistricts (*tapere*) in each district were divided up among the Manaune and Ngati-Tane chiefs. (See p. 127.)

The history of Mangaia has been brought down to Pangemiro, who was ruling in the eventful year 1823. The subsequent history may be satisfactorily written only after the changes wrought by Western culture are more clearly understood.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

GENERAL FEATURES

The Mangaian pattern of social structure shows traces of a conflict between two opposing forces, an older group of settlers who endeavored to monopolize the positions of higher rank and title by hereditary succession, and later groups who wished to acquire authority by physical force and war. This conflict not only affected the questions of succession of title but also extended to the inheritance of land. Owing to the increasing importance of success in war, Mangaian society contains some features unique in the Cook archipelago..

BIRTH

The impending birth of a child of rank was made a social occasion. Relatives and others feasted and sang and danced to cheer the mother and help her through the period of labor.

Two types of song were used. The women seated themselves in a row in front of the house where the confinement was to take place. A man singing the *tauariki* (solo) walked about in front and behind the row, and when he had finished the women sang their *mire* (chorus) to the accompaniment of waving hands and swaying bodies. The following is an example of a *tauariki*:

Ma'ikai nei e nui mai	O Maikai, big with child.
Ka nui, ka pere'i, ma 'anau i va'o e —	Thou art big, pendulous, and will be delivered of
E tamaroa.	A male child.
Tapa'ia a'o ra te ingoa ia	Name him with the name to
Pou-Ta'iti-i-te-tua-o-Tane.	The Post-in-Tahiti-at-the-back-of-Tane.

Maikai was the wife of Te-tonga of the Ngati-Tane tribe, hence the reference to Tane in the last line. The universal desire for a male child is voiced by the song. Other tribes would use the prospective mother's name and end with their own tribal god.

The *mire* consists of several verses which may vary in topic and seem not altogether appropriate. The words, however, are merely the medium for expressing pleasing tempos and rhythmic movement. The following is an example:

Ua no'o Piro i tana tane,	Piro is united to her husband,
Ei rima'ere metua i Tonga e —	Who will support the mother [of his child] at Tonga —
Ka 'aere i Manihiki moe ai.	They will go to Manihiki to sleep.
O Piro te va'ine i no'o i te 'aukato,	Piro is the woman tripping o'er the morning dew,

E ngara tane nui i te pua mareva	Desiring a famous husband to bedeck with flowers,
Mareva atu ai.	Who may then go away.
A piripiri aku 'ani,	We are joined together in an embrace.
Karo 'ia e Piro, etc.	Look at us, O Piro, etc.

Within the house the woman sat during labor on the floor with her father or her husband seated behind her.

Support or assistance in pushing her up into the squatting position when labor pains came on was given by the father or husband. Usually a rope was tied to the roof and dangled down in front of her. This she seized and pulled against to help her with the bearing-down pains, much as a European woman may use a towel tied to the foot of the bed. Women relatives seated on either side of the patient eased her by massaging her back, loins, and lower limbs in the intervals between pains. The term *pere'i* used in the solo refers to the condition of the abdomen when it becomes pendulous owing to the dropping of the womb before delivery. There is usually little trouble in delivery. From the position adopted during the bearing-down pains, the head of the foetus is directed more naturally toward the outlet than in the lateral position assumed by Europeans.

The child is received on a piece of tapa cloth and kept between the mother's legs until the placenta comes away. It is not orthodox to cut the cord until the afterbirth has been expelled.

I was called to a case of retained placenta at Tamarua during my stay on Mangaia. The thing that struck me immediately was that though the child had been born five hours, it still lay between its mother's legs with the cord uncut. No objection was raised to my tying and cutting the cord before expressing the afterbirth. In order to see the native method of tying the cord, I asked who of those present would tie it in the Mangaian method. The husband proceeded in a hesitating manner, but as he was so young and asked advice of one little older than himself I dispensed with his services. It was stated that the cord could be cut in cases of retained placenta, but it was evident that those present had a feeling that so long as the placenta had remained connected with the external child by the cord there was a better chance of the afterbirth's coming away.

The placenta is termed the *'enua* (land), and the membranes surrounding the foetus *in utero* are termed the *ora*. Aiteina states that the fine membrane which comes down with the *'enua* is termed *ora* because the *ora* or life of the mother is associated with it.

If the mother is weakened through difficult or prolonged labor, the *ora* must on no account be pulled forcibly away. The placenta, on expulsion, must be placed in cold water held in a *kape* (*Alocasia*) leaf receptacle, when the *ora* will separate itself from the placenta. This must be done before the placenta is taken from its position at the external opening or else the mother will die. The usage has probably been based on some fatal experiences after pulling on the membranes and cord to draw out a retained placenta.

In pre-Christian times, the child with the placenta still connected was placed in a bath formed of a large *kape* leaf. Any person could cut the navel cord of ordinary children, but for first-born or important children the treatment of the navel cord was entrusted to a special priest (*vaikea*), for during the cutting operation (*ta pito*) the child was dedicated to his tribal god. The

term *pito* was applied to both the navel cord and the navel depression. The term *ta* used in the cleaning process (*ta ma*) was applied to the whole process, *ta pito*.

The priest seized the cord with the left hand about 4 inches from the navel, and with his right hand stroked and squeezed the cord toward the abdomen to drive any remaining blood into the child (*ta ma*). The cord was then tied with a thread of *oronga* bast fiber at the spot 4 inches from the navel. Tying close to the abdominal wall was not done. With a strip of bamboo or cane as a knife, the priest then made a longitudinal incision along the cord away from the tie and removed any clots. The cord was then cut beyond the tie.

While the priest was cleaning the cord, he asked, "Ka taia teia tamaiti ki a'ai?" (To whom is the navel cord of this child cleaned?) The standard procedure was for the father to give the name of his own tribal god, even though such action doomed the child to future selection as a human sacrifice to Rongo. It was a point of honor involved by the custom of the patrilineal grouping of tribes; as Gill (11, p. 10) remarks, the child, though eligible, might not be required as a sacrifice. If the mother's tribe was not eligible for sacrifice, the mother would endeavor to protect her child by having the name of her tribal god pronounced over the child. Consent on the father's part, however, relegated the child to the mother's tribal grouping. In the recognized custom of sharing children, the children who went to the mother's share would of necessity have the name of her tribal god pronounced over them. If the name of Motoro was given, the *vaikea* said, "Ua taia teia tamaiti ia Motoro." (This child has had its navel cord cleansed to Motoro.) The child at the very beginning of its post-natal life was dedicated to the services of a tribal god, and every follower of that god had to stand by him through life. The bamboo knife with which the operation was performed was taken to the marae of the particular god and left on the ground to rot. Gill (11, p. 10) states that if two gods' names were pronounced over the child, the knife was taken to one marae and the name of the babe pronounced only on the second marae. Two names would certainly create complications in tribal grouping and must have been rare.

According to Aiteina, the office of *vaikea* originated with the Ngariki tribe, who dedicated the children to Motoro. Later, when other tribes desired their services, the *vaikea* dedicated the children to the gods named by the parents. In the story of Vaiaa (a *vaikea*) related by Gill (12, p. 199), the real reason for his rescue has been missed.

When the news reached Te-Ko that Vaiaa had been captured and was to be killed, she said to her son Te Uanuku, "Tera ake ta'u kiko?" (There is my flesh?) Te Uanuku thereupon saved Vaiaa from his own men on the grounds of his relationship to Te-Ko. Te-Ko, however, was influenced in her remark by another motive besides relationship. She knew that Vaiaa was a *vaikea*. Vaiaa was a son of Akapautua of the Ngariki tribe who had fled to the Cave of Terns with Ruanae after their defeat. Vaiaa had thus the prestige that went with the original line of *vaikea*. Te-Ko desired Vaiaa saved in order that he might transmit the power to act as a *vaikea* to her son, Te Uanuku.

The child treated by a recognized *vaikea* of rank acquired greater prestige than one dedicated by an ordinary person, and he was more likely to become a person of knowledge (*'are korero*).

In a dispute regarding ancient lore and knowledge, the person who had been dedicated by a *vaikea* could say to his opponent not so treated, "Kare koe i kite i toku i'i i ka'ikai." (You have not seen the chestnut tree I used after defaecation.) This intentionally rude remark refers to the occasional use of the buttresses of chestnut trees (*i'i*) in place of the sanitary paper of modern times. It was the Mangaian idiom for express-

ing both conscious superiority and contempt and was justified by the difference in status due to the cutting of the umbilical cord by the *vaikea*. Persons treated by a *vaikea* could be referred to as *pito ta*. The ceremony was performed over female children who were senior in birth in a family. Thus of Tungane, the elder sister of Arokapiti, it was said, "I taia te pito, e 'ine." (The cord was cleansed, [she was] a firstborn female.)

After tying the cord and washing the child, a band of bark cloth was wound round it as an abdominal bandage. If the cord separated from the abdomen in three days, all was well; but if it separated in one day, it was held that the child would die.

The dried, separated piece of cord was placed in an *ariri* shell and tightly plugged with coconut husk fiber to prevent insects (*manu*) from getting at it. Sometimes the shell was deposited in rock caves or crevices. When a child was forgetful or hard to teach, it was said that insects had got at its cord in the *ariri* shell. At times the shell was sunk in a deep hole in the reef channels or in the deep sea. This disposition of the cord conferred stamina and sound wind (*ka roa te a'o*) on the child, who received immunity or protection from misfortune and untimely death and would be able to dive deep because his wind would be long. The sea and its depths would have no fears for him, and physically he would endure cold when capsized and the buffetings of storms. The sinking in the sea of the navel cord was a form of sympathetic magic which made the adult at home on the ocean at all times and under all conditions.

Among good families the child was lifted soon after birth on the shoulders of relatives. The relatives prostrated themselves face downwards, while the person carrying the child passed among them and rested him for a brief moment on their shoulders. This announced visibly to the relatives and the family that a new member had joined the tribe. The reception on their shoulders indicated that the tribe would support him. It was a token of fealty, an early form of the custom of raising an ariki on the shoulders of his supporters. The ariki was useless unless supported on the shoulders of his tribe.

INFANCY

Children were usually suckled at the breast as long as the mother's breasts secreted milk. Gill (11, p. 12) states that he saw a lad three years old still being suckled at the breast. In general, however, the period of suckling did not extend beyond two years. Many children of chiefs were provided with extra wet nurses with the idea of improving their physique through the quantity of food provided. Such services could be commandeered from among the many female attendants in the household of the chief or from collateral relatives. When children cried for the breast at night, it was usual in superior families to light a small fire of a few sticks either of small branches of *toa*

(*Casuarina*) or of stalks of *roro* (dried coconut flower stalks) to give the mother some light during feeding.

The toa fire consisted of sticks that had been previously lighted (*komoto*) and would thus readily light up again. It was held that, because toa was the wood from which weapons were made, children fed at a toa fire would grow up proud and arrogant and would seek for power in adult life. Though to others such a proceeding was offensive, the parents really desired their sons to act in a manner that befitted the rank to which they aspired.

The *roro* fire was a torch of strips of coconut flower stalks which, when lit, continued to smoulder away for some time. A child fed by such a light was believed to grow up modest and respectful in demeanor. Such children were approved of by others, the term *'aka'aka* was applied to them, and of them the learned men (*'are korero*) said approvingly, "I taka ai teia i roro'ia." (This [child] is of good behavior because its night feeding was lighted with coconut flower stalks.) In this saying the noun *roro* is used as a verb, *roro'ia,* to denote not only the lighting but the feeding as well.

When the mother's milk was considered bad—and sometimes a lazy mother made this an excuse—the child had to be fed artificially. Owing to the absence of mammals that could supply a substitute for human milk, the substitutes used were coconut cream expressed from finely grated mature coconuts, cooked taro well chewed by the mother or attendant, and the cooked tender leaves (*paka*) of the taro made into a mush with a little water. As the child grew older, the soft flesh of immature coconuts was added to the diet. It is astonishing that any children survived artificial feeding.

YOUTH

Children were not subjected to the close discipline that characterizes Western culture. The real or adoptive parents, however, instructed them in manners and deportment and the correct attitude to other members of society. Boys were instructed in the general arts and crafts by their fathers and uncles, and usually the grandparents had a lot to do with their practical instruction. From their mothers and the older female relatives of the family the girls learned their duties and the crafts of plaiting and beating out bark cloth. For special teaching in the crafts and the use of weapons, experts were requisitioned. For instruction in traditional lore and tribal history, selected children were sent to a man of learning (*'are korero*) whose reputation was established in the tribe.

Approaching adolescence, the children of chiefs were specially prepared for making their public appearance at an organized dance entertainment that was planned ahead. The requisites for public approval and admiration were a well-nourished body and a fair skin.

The boy or girl was confined to the house during the day to avoid the darkening effect of the sun's rays. They were allowed out at night for walking exercise and were accompanied by attendants. The attendants of girls were female relatives who acted as guards to prevent any clandestine love affairs. Though the two sexes had considerable liberty in their love affairs before marriage, the girls of rank who were being prepared for an

official coming out were restricted, as it added to the prestige of the family and the family group if the girl went to the marriage bed a virgin. Such guarded girls were talked about and their personal prestige increased the prospects of making an alliance of note. During the stay in the secluded house (*'are pana*) they were fed with the best of food that the family could provide. Not only quality but quantity was insisted on so that a process of forced feeding with little exercise took place. The family honor was involved in producing a representative as fair and fat as possible. Gill (11, p. 13) makes the curious statement, "I know of no more unpleasant sight than the cracking of the skin as the fattening proceeds; yet this calls forth the admiration of the friends." The cracking of the skin seems an exaggeration.

The desire for a fair skin is illustrated by the story of Ngaru.

Ngaru, taught surf-riding on a board by his grandparent Moko, fought a contest with two sea monsters for eight days and nights. During this time his skin became so blackened by exposure to the sun that on his return home his wife, Tongatea, deserted him because of his black skin. To blanch his skin, Moko advised him to undergo the treatment used in ripening green bananas. Ngaru was accordingly covered up in a hole lined with scented fern leaves and left there for eight days. On the eighth day, flashes of lightning proceeded from the pit and removed the covering so that Ngaru emerged. The flashes of light were then seen to be produced by the dazzling fairness of Ngaru's skin. He subsequently appeared in public at a dart-throwing match. His wife, struck by the fairness of his skin, urged him to take her back. On Ngaru's refusal, his wife committed suicide.

After confinement (*no'o 'are pana*), the public appearance of adolescent youths and maidens was a sign that they had reached maturity and were fit to marry and take part in the adult life of the community. It was a spectacular entrance into society by ambitious families and was in no wise a necessary puberty initiation. With the mass of the people the transition from adolescence to maturity followed the natural order of growth and age. For all males, however, the recognition of approaching maturity was signalized by the operation of superincision at the age of 17 or 18 years.

The superincision operation was performed by inserting a smoothed piece of mature coconut shell between the prepuce and the upper surface of the glans penis. The prepuce was then slit longitudinally with a sharp stone flake by cutting down on the piece of coconut shell, which prevented the glans from being injured. The two sides of the slit prepuce were then pushed backwards to expose the glans. No skin was removed as in circumcision and, on healing, the slit prepuce formed folds of redundant skin on either side of the base of the glans. The penis (*ure*) so treated was termed a *te'e ure*. The mythological account states that the operation (*angaanga*) was commenced (*tomata'ia*) on the god Rongo by Tua. It is not explained who Tua was or why the operation was performed.

The freedom that existed between the sexes prior to marriage led to the early acquirement of sex knowledge. As girls are mature at about 14 years, boys participated in love affairs before they were superincised. They were then regarded merely as boys by the opposite sex. After superincision they were regarded as men. A good deal of freedom of speech existed in conversation regarding sex and natural functions. A mature, well-grown youth, no matter how handsome, was jeered at by the single girls if he possessed an unslit prepuce and found it difficult to secure a sweetheart, for the girl her-

self would be subjected to badinage and ridicule for accepting the addresses of such a person. It is even stated that women obtain more sexual pleasure from a male who has been superincised than from one who has not.

Neither the fattening process nor superincision in Mangaia can be regarded as an initiation ceremony. The individual's tribe and god had already been settled at the cutting of the navel cord, and, except for the psychological attitude of the opposite sex, superincision did not admit the patient to any rights or privileges to which he was not entitled before the operation. It marked a period of growth which demanded the observance of a particular custom. The parents and relatives regarded the youth as having reached an age when more mature obligations were required of him. The fattening process was a privilege enjoyed by rank, but superincision was obligatory.

MARRIAGE

Marriage was arranged by the parents. Social status was the first consideration. A successful début increased the range of selection, for, as inherited social position could make up for physical unattractiveness, so physical attraction, as judged by fairness of skin and corpulence of body, could make up for a slightly lower social status. In the first marriage of young couples the decision of the parents was usually accepted without demur.

The family which first decided on a marriage sent a messenger of social prestige to make the formal proposal to the parents of the other party. Presents were also given to ratify the agreement. Although girls were not bought, the parents were more likely to acquiesce to the proposal if given valuable presents, especially when differences of rank existed.

In less formal alliances, which might or might not lead to marriage, a man approached a girl by bringing her a present, usually a fish. Other presents could be given, but the prevalence of the fish gift is shown by its use as a metaphor to indicate a subterfuge by one tribe to deceive another before attacking it. The battle of Erue is thus referred to:

Tukirua te miro ia 'Erue,
Ua u Ngariki i te miro koviru,
Ua 'inga Ngo'ingo'i te vai ra i Katamai.
Te tai kiri papa e —
E poro na te tane,
E rave i te va'ine ia keu mai.

A second victory occurred at Erue,
Where Ngariki conquered through deception,
And Ngoingoi fell at Katamai.
By the lagoon, fishing was going on,
A gesture by the men
To attract the women to favor them.

Formal marriages took place on a day arranged beforehand in order to allow the family and their relatives to prepare a feast to mark the occasion.

On the marriage day the people of both families gathered and presents were made to the bride and bridegroom, who were seated together on a piece of white bark cloth. The family of the bridegroom made their presents to the bride and that of the bride to the groom. The names of the donors were called in a loud voice and the presents laid before the couple. In the feast which followed each family group usually supplied

the food for the other. As the food was cooked and brought to the assembly place in baskets, the feast constituted an exchange of food between the two families. The public acknowledgment of the couple completed the marriage. It was a function in which the priesthood did not officially take part.

Among the masses living together constituted marriage, and children born of such unions were legitimate. Social grade was distinguished by the size of the feast and the quantity and quality of the presents. Among distinguished families, the marriage of the first-born was given greater importance by adding the *maninitori* ceremony to the usual feast and exchange of presents:

> The bride's family prepared a feast and supply of bark cloth which were laid out in front of the house of the bride's father. The prospective son-in-law was then sent for and the bride's family group and tribe formed an *ara tangata* (human path) by lying prostrate on their faces across the path. The groom stepped from body to body, and, if the living carpet was too short, those who had been stepped upon ran to the front to prolong the carpet until it reached the bride's house. The groom was accompanied by his near relatives, who, walking on the ground, clapped their hands, chanted songs, and recited the deeds of his ancestors. At the end, three elderly females formed themselves into a seat for the groom. Gill (7, pp. 59-63) states that a fish was cut up into small pieces on a human body with a bamboo knife. The raw fish was consumed by the groom and the food and cloth then formally presented to him. The groom kept the presents, but the food was divided up among all present. After the feast, the human carpet was relaid to enable the groom to return to his house.

A reciprocal *maninitori* was given by the groom's family and surpassed the first, unless the husband's family were inferior in station to that of the wife. Sometimes the second *maninitori* was postponed until the birth of the first child, when it served a double purpose. Gill (7, p. 60) states that the custom dates back to time immemorial. The reciprocal feasts and presents form the standard pattern of Polynesian weddings, but the addition of the human carpet seems to be a local development in Mangaia. It may be an elaboration of the custom of lifting the new-born child onto the shoulders of his kinsmen. I believe, however, that the marriage custom has a slightly different meaning than that of kinsmen's support and finds its appropriate origin in alliances through marriage with subjugated tribes in order to gain strength and assistance. The prostration in the *maninitori* ceremony seems to be an acknowledgment of inferiority and an act of fealty that is associated with subjugation. The reciprocal part of the ceremony was doubtless a later development, for with patrilocal residence the walking of the bride over the backs of her husband's kinsmen does not acknowledge the idea of inferiority; she is being admitted into the tribe with which she will take up her residence.

In Mangaia marriage within the tribe was banned. Gill (11, p. 13) says: "Exogamy was the universal rule in olden time." The Mangaian custom seems to be a local development, for the main Polynesian cultures had no incest inhibitions that necessitated exogamous marriages. Except on Mangaia no exogamous mandate exists in the Cook Islands, and one of the Makeas of Rarotonga married his own full-blood sister. Full-blood sisters were

occasionally married in Hawaii in high families when there were no other women available of high enough rank. The Maori favored marriage within the tribe and even subtribe, but outside alliances were made by chiefly marriages.

When the original Ngariki tribe developed in Mangaia before the advent of the Tongaiti, presumably they married within their own tribe, as they had no other source from which to obtain wives. It is not known whether the Tongaiti brought their own wives or not. The Ngati-Tane fugitives from Tahiti may have brought some women, but probably they had to obtain most of them from other tribes. The Te-kama tribe are stated to have had no women at all. The Ngariki, who probably constantly lost women through supplying the matrimonial needs of succeeding waves of settlers who had few or no women with them carried the burden of maintaining the balance of population.

As the other tribes produced families, the Ngariki naturally seized the opportunity of taking women from them as wives in recompense for what they had supplied. Thus was set up a practice of obtaining wives from outside, first from necessity and later with the idea of recompense. Custom developed religious tapus against marriage within the tribe.

Fighting between intratribal factions such as took place in the Ngati-Vara brought about a complication. As the gods disapproved of marrying a woman of the same tribe, the problem was met by declaring that when a tribe split into two factions each faction was to be regarded as a distinct social group for marriage purposes.

The exogamous system in Mangaia, then, savors of local manipulation to meet changing circumstances and should not be confounded with any ancient exogamous system diffused from the west.

Though wives were taken from other tribes, the bridegroom could not be related to the bride through her mother's connection with his own tribe. According to Gill (11, p. 13),

> Distant cousins sometimes (though rarely) marry, but must be of the same generation, i.e., be descended in the same degree (fourth or fifth, or even more remotely) from the common ancestor. That the male branch should thus invade the female is a far more pardonable offence than the converse, but even then, should misfortune or disease overtake these related couples, the elders of the tribe would declare it to be the anger of the clan-god (kua kai te angai). It is the duty of parents to teach their growing children whom they may lawfully marry, the choice being extremely limited.

Monogamy was the general rule, but polygamy was the privilege of chiefs who cared to avail themselves of the institution. Polyandry did not exist. The records of 134 males taken from the Ngati-Vara genealogies (Table 14) show that 80 percent of the marriages were single. Of the 20 percent plural marriages, more than half consisted of two wives, more than a quarter of three wives, and there were single instances of four and six wives.

Table 14.—Marriages of the Ngati-Vara

Generation	Male Births	Male Marriages	Number of Wives 1	2	3	4	5	6
6	1	1	1	....	....	....	....	....
7	8	6	4	1	....	....	....	1
8	24	17	11	2	4	....	....	....
9	92	53	43	9	1	....	....	....
10	168	57	48	5	3	1	....	....
Total	293	134	107	17	8	1	....	1
Percent			80	12.7	5.9	.7	....	.7

The great Mautara in the sixth generation had only one wife, though his son, Ikoke in the seventh, had six. Arekare, a chief of another tribe, had ten wives, and Parima of Ngati-Tane had six. Slaves sometimes shared in the privilege of their masters, for Ikoke's slave also had six wives. It is likely that some of the slave wives who produced no children have been omitted in the genealogies. In Table 14 the percentage of polygamy is not as high as 20 percent, as some of the second wives were probably married after the first wife had died. Plurality of wives depended on social position, individual desire, and extra opportunity through conquest in war.

It was not an uncommon custom for a chief to marry two sisters. Mautara's two daughters were married to the warrior chief Manini. The Ngati-Vara genealogies indicate one sororate in the seventh generation and no less than nine wives in the tenth generation. Table 15 shows two sororate marriages in one family.

Table 15.—Sororate

6. Mautara, m.
7. Raumea, m.
8. Te-ka,[a] m.
9. Puka, f. = Tuere,[b] m.

—1. Maunganui, m.
—2. Teora, f. = Muraai,[c] m.
—3. Ikauna, f. = Atianga, m.
—4. Tatua, f. = Utikaa, m.
10. —5. Aravaevae, f. = Utikaa, m.
—6. Tokoa, f. = Tauti, m.
—7. Tapaivi, f. = Muraai.

[a] Te-ka, priest of Motoro, who succeeded Mautara's youngest son, Ngara. [b] Tuere, ariki of the Paparangi division of the Ngariki, succeeded by his son Maunganui. [c] Muraai, son of Atatoa, who was adopted by his mother's tribe to save his life.

The two sisters in a sororate establishment were not married to their husband at the same official ceremony. The second marriage came about through a train of circumstances regarded by both families as natural. As shown by Table 15, the chief Muraai married the eldest of six sisters of

rank, the daughters of a high chief. The marriage was celebrated according to the social status of the two families.

Tapaivi, the youngest daughter, accompanied her married sister and entered her household as her companion and attendant. When the wife, Teora, became pregnant and sexual intercourse was cut off, she allowed her younger sister to fulfill her marital obligations. Enforced continence on the part of Muraai during the period of gestation and following birth was thus obviated. This lessened the danger that Muraai would become unfaithful with outside women. It was better to keep him within the family than to risk the danger of losing him. Tapaivi thus automatically became a second wife; it was unnecessary to celebrate the occasion with a special feast, as the two families had already been officially united. Similarly, Utikaa married Tatua, and the younger sister Aravaevae entered the establishment as companion to become in time a second wife. The children of the first wife remained senior to those of the second wife, not only because of priority of marriage, but also because of seniority of birth on the mother's side. Teora gave birth to five sons and two daughters, and Tapaivi to five sons and five daughters.

A chief who married the eldest girl of a slave family usually took her sisters into his household, and they became subsidiary wives if he so pleased. He took them because of his power. In chiefly families, however, the sororate depended upon the elder sister's acquiescence.

Allied to the sororate in one of its basic ideas was the marrying of the deceased wife's sister. It was regarded as the natural thing for a sister to look after her deceased sister's young family, and if the widower did not take her in marriage for that purpose she felt neglected.

THE LEVIRATE

The junior levirate, actuated by the same general motive, the care of the children, was not uncommon. From the Polynesian viewpoint, the most natural protector for a woman's young children is her husband, even if he is not their father. When, however, the children are his dead brother's wife's, they are of his blood and bone and, according to tribal ideas, the same as if they were his own. Another motive was to keep the children within the family. Fulfillment of the obligation by a younger brother, who was more likely to be free than his older brothers, avoided the complications created if the children of the second marriage became senior to the first family, which would happen if a woman married an elder brother of her first husband. Two junior levirate marriages in Mautara's family are shown in the following pedigree:

Mautara, m. = Te-ko

—Te Uanuku, m. = Tangitoa, f.
—Raumea, m. = (1) Peereka, f.
—Ikoke, m. = (2) Peereka, f.
—Karaea, m. = Teruea, f.
—Takurua, m. = (1) Teuke, f.
—Karorau, m.
—Kakina, m.
—Ngara, m. = (2) Teuke, f.

Raumea had had two sons and a daughter by Peereka when he died of wounds. Peereka then married the younger brother, Ikoke, by whom she had four sons and three daughters. Ikoke subsequently had five other wives. Mautara's fifth son, Takurua, married Teuke, by whom he had one son and one daughter. After Takurua was killed in battle the widow married Ngara, the youngest brother; both Karorau and Kakina, who were senior to him, were dead. Teuke was Ngara's second wife, as he was already married to Tangaina. Teuke had two sons and one daughter by Ngara. In the eight levirate marriages shown in Table 16, the second husband was younger than the first. Each woman had children by both husbands, proof that it was desirable to keep the widow in the family group.

Table 16.—The Levirate

	Order of Birth of Husbands		Children to First Husband		Children to Second Husband	
	First	Second	Male	Female	Male	Female
1.	2d	3d	2	1	4	3
2.	5th	8th	1	1	2	1
3.	1st	5th	4	5	2	3
4.	1st	2d	1	1	3	2
5.	2d	6th	1	3	1	1
6.	1st	4th	5	3	1	0
7.	1st	2d	1	0	4	2
8.	2d	3d	2	0	4	1

The unmarried adolescents and adults of both sexes had ample opportunity of satisfying physiological desires without incurring the ban of their society. To have a child from such temporary unions was, however, a mistake. Though the child and the mother were not ostracized in the cruel manner pertaining to Western culture, they were not approved. The mother was blamed, not for having committed a sexual crime, but for having allowed herself to become pregnant out of wedlock. When the girl's parents found out that she was pregnant, they made inquiries as to the putative father and approached his family. Both parties were regarded as equally to blame, and usually the two families prepared a reciprocal marriage feast by which the child was born in wedlock. When the marriage did not take place the child was illegitimate (*kakaoa, pao'ao*) and had a bar sinister in his pedigree. He was adopted by a relation and brought up without any distinction from the other children of the family. In childhood's arguments, however, he was liable to be taunted with his birth. In adult life he could rise to a position of power and authority, but he could not very well boast of his ancestry. Even the three great ancestors of the Ngariki tribe are referred to as an illegitimate family (*'anau kakaoa*) because their mother Tavake bore them

to her own father Rongo to whom she could not be married. However, inhibitions due to the fear of becoming pregnant out of wedlock were rare.

Permanent matings are primarily for the procreation of children. A father's attitude on the birth of a son is one of delight that his family line is perpetuated. His next wish is that he may have more sons in order to strengthen the family and, incidentally, the tribal group upon which depends his maintenance of food lands. When his boys grow up, he arranges marriages in order that he may have grandchildren and be assured both of the perpetuation of his family line and the continued strength of his tribe.

THE FAMILY

Biological Family

The biological family consisting of the children of one pair of parents is alluded to as their *ʻanau* (birth). Before giving the names, as in reciting a family pedigree, they may be termed *te puke tamariki a* — (the group of children of —). Male children are *tamaroa* (sons), and female children, *tamaʻine* (daughters). The term *puke* may be applied to a family of boys (*puke tamaroa*) or girls (*puke tamaʻine*). The eldest son is *tama* and the eldest daughter, *ʻine*.

The recognition of bilateral descent is seen in the custom of sharing children between the father's and mother's families. Patrilineal descent, to which the greater weight is attached, is described by the term *tama tane,* and matrilineal descent by *tama vaʻine*. All the children of a biological family are *tama tane* to their father's family group or tribe and *tama vaʻine* to their mother's group. Though *tama tane* literally means "male child," in the above usage it means "child of the male." Similarly *tama vaʻine* means "child of the female." If the father belongs to the Ngati-Vara tribe and the mother to Ngati-Tane, every child is *tama tane* to Ngati-Vara and *tama vaʻine* to Ngati-Tane.

The family is patrilocal. The wife leaves her father's household and comes to live with her husband in his house within his tribal territory or on land which has been allocated to him. The family thus shares all the teachings and traditions of the father's tribe as it grows up.

The blood tie of the children with the mother's tribe is less significant owing to remoteness of domicile. Yet under the custom of sharing children and of adoption, children might leave the father's home and be brought up by the mother's people in their territory. They became matrilineal, though not living with their mother. Forced to rely upon his wife, a husband of a defeated tribe who found himself destitute of land after peace was declared, domiciled his family upon the wife's share of land in her tribal territory. The family then became matrilocal.

Within the patrilineal and patrilocal family, the authority of the husband and father was supreme. As a member of the tribe, he had a right to share in the cultivable land belonging to the tribe. His rights to land he in turn divided among his children so that the succession to land was also patrilineal. The mother, on the other hand, had a right to a share in her father's land, but when she married and left the tribal residence she could not take the land with her. In matrilocal residence, owing to the husband's being destitute, the mother as *tama tane* within her own tribe claimed a share of land upon which to bring up her family. She was awarded a share of land "to feed her husband," but the land was hers; she could not transfer it to a person of another tribe, even her husband. The family then, besides being matrilocal, was also matripotestal.

Adoptions

Polynesians have a great affection for children, and older people whose children are grown up are ever ready to adopt others. Such adoptions are of children related by blood through the male or female side and are made by some branch of either family who consider that they have a claim on the children. Except under exceptional circumstances, no parents would think of relinquishing their children to anyone who had no blood claim. In Mangaiia, adoptions were through the female side (*tama va'ine*) and were of two kinds, infant and adult.

1. Infant adoptions were involved in the custom of sharing children (*tu'a tamariki*), when the father of the wife demanded a share of his daughter's family. Patrilineal grouping and the dedication of the child to its father's god at the cutting of the navel cord placed all children in the father's tribe. To enable the mother's family to get a share, a prenatal demand had to be made in order that the child could be dedicated to its mother's god when the cord was cut. The children were shared alternately in order of birth, the first-born going to the father. Each family had to take its chance with the sex of the children, unless some special concession was made that the father should have the first male.

The family of my informant, Akaeakore II, illustrates the alternate sharing:

Tereavai, m. (Ngati-Vara)
|
Akaeakore I, m.
|
Eketa, f. = Kakao (Akatauira)
|
—1. Vaa-kai-tamaki, f. (Father)
—2. Tau-kapua, f. (Mother)
—3. Rima-ongo, f. (Father)
—4. Akaeakore II, m. (Mother)
—5. Maki-iti, m. (Father)
—6. Vaitata, f. (Father)
—7. Tangaanga, f. (Father)
—8. Turanga-tai, f. (Father)

The first three children were females and were shared alternately. At this stage, Kakao began to think that he was being denied male children through some influence exercised by his father-in-law, who was a son of the priest, Tereavai. He went to his father-in-law (*purunga*) with the idea of placating him. Akaeakore I gave him a taro patch to weed, which took eight days' work. Then Akaeakore I said to him, "You will have a son and you may name him after me." The next child was a male and he was accordingly named Akaeakore. In order of sharing, however, he went to the mother's family and was brought up by his maternal grandfather, Akaeakore I. The fifth child was also a male and remained with the father. The sixth child was a female and should have gone to the mother's family, but Akaeakore I did not want another girl so he relinquished his claim to any further share. Thus the sharing of children could be claimed and relinquished at any stage, as the mother's family decided.

The rule of sharing alternately was departed from on occasion. For example, the first two children of Poito (Table 12) went to the mother's share.

If a husband's tribe was a subjugated one from which human sacrifices to Rongo were obtained, the mother would beg that the child be dedicated to her god instead of that of the father. The dedication of the child of a Ngariki woman married to a Teipe man to Teipe rendered it liable throughout life to selection as a human sacrifice. If the child were dedicated to her god, Motoro, the child would be absolutely safe from selection. This very act of dedication to Motoro, however, enrolled the child in the Ngariki tribe through its female side and involved the adoption of the child by its mother's father or one of her male relations. It is no wonder, therefore, that the father more often preferred to take the risk and keep his child in his own tribe by dedicating it to his own god.

2. Adult adoptions into the mother's family were also known. When a father's tribe was defeated in war, he and his children became fugitives. They were in constant danger of losing their lives until the drum of peace had sounded. Even after peace was declared, their taro lands remained confiscated by the victors, and they were relegated to menial positions. Under such circumstances, a mother sought out her father or a powerful relation in her tribe with the object of getting her son adopted on his female side (*tama va'ine*) and so protected from death and poverty.

As an adult served the tribe and tribal god from his dedication at the cutting of the navel cord, that tie had to be removed by bathing in a stream and a formal reception of the new member into the new tribe. The adopted member absolutely ceased to belong to his father's tribe and fought against them and his relations, should occasion demand.

The classic example of adult adoption is that of Manaune. His mother, seeking protection from her nephew Mautara, used the phrase, "Ka 'apai i raro i te keke o Mautara." (To place [him] under the armpit of Mautara.) The meaning of the expression is that while his head rested under the armpit of Mautara it could not be struck with a club. When his sons wished to kill

Manaune to end the enemy line of his father, Rurae, Mautara pacified them by saying: "E taporo! Va'o ei 'arikiriki mata i Te 'Apuna-vai!" (Oh spare! Let him spread fern on the floor in Te Apuna-vai!) In other words, they could have Manaune as a servant. Manaune was never trusted until he distinguished himself in the battle of Puku-o-toi, and incidentally slew his own father. By his valor he escaped the menial position at first indicated and was rewarded with a tract of land. Another example of adult adoption for protection was that of Muraai.

Relationship Terms

The relationship terms in Mangaia are similar to those in general use in Polynesia. Relations are classified into five strata which cover the range of generations from the grandparent to the grandchild of the speaker (Table 17).

Table 17.—Relationship Terms

Stratum	
—2	Tupuna: Grandparents, granduncles, grandaunts; collateral granduncles and grandaunts.
—1	Metua: Parents, uncles, aunts, collaterals.
0	Tuakana, teina: Elder, younger, denotes seniority in the same sex, whether of one biological family, cousins, or distant collaterals.
	Tungane, tua'ine: Brother of sister, sister of brother; also sex distinction between cousins or collaterals of same generation.
+1	Tamaiti: General term for child, nephews, nieces and collaterals.
	Tamaroa: Son.
	Tama'ine: Daughter.
	Tama: Eldest son.
	Ine: Eldest daughter.
+2	Mokopuna: Grandchildren, grandnephews, grandnieces, or grand-collaterals.

Relations are addressed by their personal names and not by the relationship terms, except occasionally. The five generations named cover all who are likely to be living at the same time, but the range may be increased by adding numerals to the limiting terms *tupuna* and *mokopuna:* the grandfather may be termed the *tupuna mua* (*mua,* "first"), the great-grandfather the *tupuna rua* (*rua,* "two"), the great-great-grandfather the *tupuna toru* (*toru,* "three"), and the great-great-great-grandfather the *tupuna 'a* ('*a,* "four"). This may be carried on indefinitely to indicate a relationship to some ancestor. Similarly, grandchildren may be *mokopuna mua,* great-grandchildren *mokopuna rua,* great-great grandchildren *mokopuna toru.* The terms include all collaterals of the same generation stratum.

All members of the Ngati-Vara are related to each other through the eponymous ancestor Vara; but to decide the relationship term to be used, the descent would be traced through Mautara or the most recent common ancestor. If one person was six generations removed from Mautara and

another was seven, the difference of one generation would indicate their relationship. The person who was one generation less removed would be *metua* to the other and the other correspondingly *tamaiti* to him. A difference of two generations would constitute the relationship of *tupuna* and *mokopuna*. The genealogical count may differ on different lines of descent. Usually the relationship from the nearer common ancestor of two is selected, whereas relationship from more remote ancestors is of academic interest. Each term covers a number of relations of varying degrees of consanguinity, but the exact degree of consanguinity is made clear by the family pedigree which is taught to all concerned. The classifying terms stress blood kinship and the unity of the tribe. (25, pp. 26-30).

The terms *tupuna, metua,* and *mokopuna* apply to both sexes, but sex may be indicated by adding the qualifying terms *tane* (male) and *va'ine* (female). The term *tamaiti* is common gender and refers merely to a child. Son and daughter are distinguished by the terms *tamaroa* and *tama'ine*. Brother and sister are distinguished in their relationship to each other. Thus *tungane* means the brother of a female but cannot apply to the brother of a male. Similarly, *tua'ine* is the sister of a male but not of a female.

The first-born is alluded to as the *kiko mua* (first flesh) and his descendants enjoy priority over the families of the younger brothers. The term *tama* means a son; but in Mangaia, it has become restricted to the first-born son, while *'ine* is applied to a first-born daughter. *Tama* may be used as a term of respect to visitors, as it implies that the person spoken to has the prestige of a first-born son. Within the family, the terms *tuakana* and *teina* are used to denote seniority of birth, but their use is confined to members of the same sex. Thus the *tama* is *tuakana* to all his brothers, and they are all *teina* to him. His sisters, however, are not *teina* to him, but *tua'ine*. Any one of the other brothers is called *tuakana* to the brothers younger than himself and *teina* to those who are older. Similarly, the *'ine* is *tuakana* to all her sisters and they are all *teina* to her. Her brothers, however, are *tungane* to her, irrespective of whether they are younger or older. The seniority terms, therefore, are not used between opposite sexes. The seniority terms *tuakana* and *teina* apply to cousins and more remote collaterals according to their descent from the older or younger children of the common ancestor.

Though seniority counted for much, junior lines could rise above their seniors in actual power within the tribe through the exercise of greater ability and leadership. When Mautara conquered the Ngariki tribe, he gave the office of Temporal Lord to his eldest son, Te Uanuku, who was the *kiko mua*. The descendants of Te Uanuku are still regarded as the *kiko mua* of Ngati-Vara, but the family of the third son, Ikoke, rose to greater prestige in the subsequent development of the tribe.

The terms indicating relationship through marriage covered three generation levels:

—1	Purunga: Father- or mother-in-law.
0	Taokete: Brother- or sister-in-law.
+1	'Unonga: Son- or daughter-in-law.

In addressing a brother-in-law the term *taokete* may be shortened to *tao,* as in Te Uanuku's historical greeting to his brother-in-law, Akatara.

The Household

The household of a patrilocal family enjoying social status and affluence in food lands might include adopted children, sons' children, and collateral as well as lineal descendants. Members comprising three and even four generations might be present. Retainers and subjugated people who sought protection might further increase the household of a chief. The one dwelling might be increased to two or more, all served by a common cooking house. The composite household of an influential chief spread out into a group of houses which, though forming a center, did not develop into a village. The family and their menials developed the food lands and obtained food from the sea. Through it all, the authority of the head of the household was supreme. As the father of the first family grew old, he relinquished his authority to his eldest son. Matters of family interest were discussed and decisions arrived at.

THE TRIBE

Name

The usage of the term *matakeinanga* to indicate the mass of the people of the land is illustrated by the concluding verse of a prayer over a human sacrifice to Rongo (6, p. 296). The human sacrifice with the subsequent sounding of the peace drum denoted the end of war, when the fugitives came forth in safety from their hiding places.

Taua ra i te makatea,	We were in the makatea,
I te punanga o te 'ao.	In the refuge of the conquered.
Teniteni te matakeinanga,	[But now] the people shout in glee,
Koakoa te matakeinanga.	The people rejoice.

Though sometimes restricted to indicate a smaller family group, *matakeinanga* did not become a general term to indicate a tribal grouping as it did in Manihiki.

The term *ivi* (bone) is used to indicate a group of people classed together through some common cause, as *ivi panga* (fatherless group), which refers to the fugitives who have fled for safety to the makatea. The plural may be used, as *nga ivi panga* (the fatherless groups).

A group is also referred to as a *vaka* (canoe), as in a song composed by Potiki of Ngati-Vara (12, p. 181): "Kua pau te vaka o Ruanae." (The tribe of Ruanae is finished.)

The definite groupings in Mangaia have been alluded to as "clans" by Gill (5, 11). American authorities, who regard the clan as a kindred group following matrilineal descent would regard the social groups of Mangaia as gens. The groups originally settled in definite areas, had their own governing chiefs, and united for war. Originally there were probably some dialectic differences between groups, owing to their origin from different islands. The term "tribe" is therefore referred to them in this work.

The Mangaian term for a tribe is *kopu* or *kopu tangata*. *Kopu* in general means the abdomen but in this particular, the womb, and conveys the idea that all members of the tribe are descended from the one ancestral womb. Though the female term is used, the recognition of the procreating power of the male places the female ancestor in a secondary position; descent and succession are traced to the husband of the first ancestral pair. The qualifying term *tangata* simply means "people," the group of people forming the particular tribe.

Another term used to denote the tribe is *pare*. Akunukunu, priest of Motoro and father of Mautara, was afraid that he would be slain by the Ngati-Tane; but his wife, Kura-peau of the Tongaiti, said, "Kare koe e mate, e ngao taku pare." (You will not be slain, my tribe is great.) The term *pare* is also used in poetry (12, p. 147):

Kapitipitia e i pau nga pare e!	Again and again the tribes were slain!
E tangi atu ra i ki te pare.[a]	Weep for the tribe.

[a] Gill in a note to this song states that *pare* stands for *apare*.

Another rarer term used for tribe is *e*. It is used in the lament of Koroa concerning the expulsion of the Tongaiti, who are descendants of Te-tipi (12, p. 133): "Te e o Te-tipi, ka eva e —." (The tribe of Te-tipi now mourns.)

Wissler (29, p. 117) selects, as one of the outstanding characteristics of a tribe, the designation by a specific name. The Mangaian tribes possessed this characteristic and, in addition, the larger tribes underwent a process of division into subtribes, each with its specific name, as shown in the following list:

Tribes	Subtribes	Island of Origin
Ngariki	Ngariki (Paparangi)	Avaiki (?)
	Akatauira	Avaiki (?)
	Vaeruarangi	Avaiki (?)
Ngati-Vara (Amama)	.....	Avaiki (?)
Tongaiti	Teipe	?
	Teaaki	?

Ngati-Tane (Aitu)	.....	Tahiti
Te Kama	.....	Tahiti (Vaiiria)
⟨Kanae		?
⟩Tangiia	.....	
Tui-kura	.....	?
Ngati-Amai	.....	Rarotonga
Ngati-Manaune	.....	Mangaia

The method of naming the tribes varied. The name of the eponymous ancestor was used without any prefix, as in Paparangi, Akatauira, Vaeruarangi, Manaune, and perhaps Te Kama. In three names the tribal prefix, Ngati, which is formed of the plural definite article *nga* (the) combined with *ti* and means "the descendants of" is used. Thus Ngati-Vara means the descendants of Vara and includes those descended from Vara in the male line. Individuals in other tribes may claim descent from Vara through a Ngati-Vara woman but can not class themselves as Ngati-Vara.

The use of the prefix Ngati before the name of a family head was used on occasions to denote a family group. It was also used to denote the people descended from a remoter ancestor to stress the name of an ancestor who had not been selected as the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. The term *'anau* (family) was also used in a similar way, as in Mautara's lament for his mother Kura-peau (12, p. 129):

Ko te 'anau a Tevaki	The family of Tevaki,
Ko Ngati Vairanga.	The descendants of Vairanga.

Both Tevaki and Vairanga were ancestors of the Ngati-Tane tribe, but as the tribe already had two specific names neither of their names could be used for the permanent tribal appellation. Doubtless the prefix Ngati was originally used as a convenient means of denoting distinctive family groups, and when the group grew the name became crystallized into a subtribal and eventually into a tribal name.

Williamson (28, vol. 2, p. 44) uses the term Ngati as if it were a synonym for tribe, but this is incorrect; it was a prefix which required the addition of the ancestor's personal name. The Mangaian tribal names with Ngati prefixed to an ancestor's name are Ngati-Vara and Ngati-Amai. In the Ngati-Tane, Tane is not a human ancestor but a god, and the various immigrant groups of Aitu people, who were all worshipers of the god Tane, were conveniently grouped together under the alternative name of Ngati-Tane. The tribes using an ancestral name without the prefix sometimes used the prefix; but its dropping was a question of usage. Koroa, however, did use the term *ngati* by itself as the equivalent of "tribe," but he was using poetic license which does not enter into current speech.

The plural definite article *nga* is used in the tribal name Ngariki, a shortened form of Nga-ariki. It is descriptive and refers to the three arikis

from Avaiki who were the ancestors of the tribe and stresses the high status claimed by the tribe. Another descriptive name is that of the Tui-kura (*tu'i,* "mark"; *kura,* "red"), which refers to some custom in the tribe of marking the face with red. The tribal name Kanae means "the mullet fish," but there is nothing on record to explain the origin of this extinct tribe.

The tribe of Tongaiti, with its two subtribes, Teipe and Teaaki, took the names of the gods. The Ngati-Tane took the name of Tane with a prefix. The Ngati-Tane had another name, Aitu (god), which referred to their worship of Tane. The Ngati-Vara had the older name of Te Amama (The Open-mouth), which was derived from the opening of the mouth of Papaaunuku when the god of Motoro entered into him. Te Amama stresses the priestly origin and hereditary function of the group, and Ngati-Vara denotes the usual form of human grouping.

The descriptive tribal names in Mangaia were probably first applied by outside tribes. The group name Aitu was applied to the invading worshipers of Tane from Tahiti by the people of Aitutaki, Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro. Perhaps all the invaders had totally different names for themselves. In Mangaia the worshipers of Tane became established, accepted the name applied to them, and adopted it into their own current speech. The descriptive name of Tui-kura (Red-marked) is more likely to have been applied by outsiders. The action of the group itself should have been to name themselves after an ancestor.

Even some of the kinship names may have been first applied by outsiders. The Mangaians, like other Polynesians, have individual personal names but no current surname as understood in English. In English, a group of people descended from a Smith may be alluded to as "the Smiths" by using the plural *s* with the surname. In Mangaian, the same result was achieved in current speech by using the plural prefix with the name of the individual. Thus Ngati-Poito literally means "the Poitos", whereas *te 'anau a Poito* means "the family of Poito." The family of Poito may not allude to themselves as Ngati-Poito, for they know each other's personal names and can use the personal pronouns "we" and "us" in alluding to themselves as a group. Outsiders may therefore be the first to use a collective term which denotes not only the group but its growing prestige. If the family develops into a subtribe or a tribe, it may use a tribal name that was first used in the current speech of outsiders. On the other hand, the selection of the ancestor with whose name the tribal name prefix should be used was sometimes made within the group itself. Table 3 shows that between Papaaunuku and Mautara inclusive there were six single male ancestors, any one of whom could have been appropriately chosen to supply the tribal name. Of these, Papaaunuku was the oldest, but Mautara, the most recent, was the most famous. The group is often referred

to as Ngati-Mautara in current speech, but as a specific name it is probably regarded as too recent and likely to forfeit the prestige of long settlement. Papaaunuku had already provided the alternative name of Te Amama, so the name of his son Vara was adopted as the tribal name.

Composition

Theoretically, the tribe was built up from natural increase within itself. All members, except wives from outside tribes, should show male descent from the original ancestral pair. In practice, however, many female breaks are found owing to adoptions, sharing of children, or matrilocal residence. The senior chiefly lines should show no female breaks, and some do not. In Table 3 Aiteina shows an unbroken *tama tane* line in Ngati-Vara, but Akaeakore is a *tama va'ine* to Ngata-Vara through his mother in the 13th generation, and became a Ngati-Vara as part of the share of his mother's family.

The incessant wars that ravaged Mangaia led to the arbitrary taking up of sides by certain people. Married women were the only ones who could move freely between tribes, their own and their husband's, during a state of war. As the result of intertribal adoptions, members of the same biological family were forced to meet each other in battle. Sometimes blood overruled the law and sometimes it did not.

In a battle between the Ngati-Vari and Ngati-Tane, Poito's two sons, who had been shared to the Ngati-Tane, fought against their father's tribe. In the battle they approached an enemy who was fighting valiantly. The elder son cried out to his brother, "Let us engage elsewhere. It is our father Poito." The younger son took no notice. Poito, recognizing his opponent, made a mere pretence of striking at him and allowed himself to be killed. The younger son, though literally obedient to custom, is not admired in Mangaia for his action.

The tribe was a closed corporation, as regards rank and status of its members, but there were certain accretions that added to its numerical strength:

1. The men of defeated tribes often sought out some powerful protector for whom they worked. A protector might be sought out by a man's wife in her own tribe, in which case the arrangement was instituted by the woman. So long as the *tama va'ine* tribe was not the one actively opposed to them, such an incorporation was easily arranged. The people so included usually occupied a menial position and were on probation until they proved their loyalty to the tribe by assisting it in war. After a successful battle, the outsider who had proved his valor was rewarded with a share of land and so became a free man in the tribe he served. His children became absorbed into the tribe in the course of events. It is extremely probable that some of the tribes which became extinct were not all killed off, but that the survivors, after the last disastrous defeat, sought refuge in other tribes or were enslaved by the victors and so absorbed.

2. People who were defeated and accepted a menial position forced upon them in order that they might live were also added to the tribe. The women of defeated tribes were spoils to the victors. They were often taken as supplementary wives by chiefs, and their children became *tama tane* in the conquering tribe. The pedigrees transmitted

orally are those of the leading families in the tribe and take no cognizance of the lower stratum of the tribe formed of additions from outside sources.

Patriotism

Although accretions from outside the tribes were of doubtful loyalty, there can be no question of the intense patriotism felt by the true *tama tane* members of the tribe. Tribes were distrustful of *tama va'ine* members, and it was considered by some a good preventive policy to kill such children before they grew up to become a menace. This policy was hinted at in the saying, " 'Angaingai a tama, te tama a te tua'ine." (Feed the first-born son, the first-born son of a sister.) The use of *'angaingai* (to feed) is a euphemism to disguise the real import of the phrase, which advised that the child of a sister should be killed. Women of rank have sometimes stipulated that their children should not fight against their tribes in the event of war with their husbands' groups.

Motia, daughter of Te Uanuku, the first-born son of Mautara, married Rori, the fugtive craftsman who was restored by Manaune. She bore him many sons and made them promise never to fight against her tribe of Ngati-Vara. The *tama tane* claim, however, proved too strong, and they joined their father's group against the Ngati-Vara at the battle of Akaoro. Three were killed; their mother was so incensed against them that she did not weep, but cursed their memory.

A number of men have deliberately given themselves up to death as a propitiatory sacrifice to Rongo to ensure their tribe's success in battle. Tiroa, priest of Tane, did it to bring success to Panako. Kauate, a chief of the Ngariki, sought out a violent death to restore his tribe to power under Ngangati. Arokapiti of Ngati-Tane sacrificed himself in place of his younger brother to turn the tide of battle against Ngati-Vara.

Lands

In Mangaia the early tribes settled in definite localities and for a time kept together. Apart from historical narrative, their localities are indicated by the maraes they built to their tribal gods (p. 175).

The Ngariki evidently spread over the northern, western, and southwestern parts of the island. They built the Ivanui marae to Rongo in the Ivanui district but later abandoned it and built the marae of Orongo on the west coast in the Tavaenga district near the boundary with Keia. Their marae of Araata to their tribal god Motoro was built in Keia, and the Akaoro marae presided over by the Inland High Priest was close beside Araata. With the increase of other tribes, they evidently withdrew from the Ivirua and Karanga districts and concentrated in the Tavaenga, Keia, and Veitatei districts. It appears that the Akatauira were in Tavaenga, the Paparangi in Keia, and the Vaeruarangi in Veitatei.

The Tongaiti tribe landed in the south and occupied the Tamarua district. Their principal marae was Aumoana, situated close to the inner side of the makatea not far from the present church at Tamarua. The cave of Tautua, which formed the refuge of the tribe after defeat, is also situated in the Tamarua district.

The Ngati-Tane landed on the east and occupied the Ivirua district. Their first two maraes, Taumatini and Maputu, are in the northern part of the district and close to the original Ngariki marae, Ivanui. The reason given for the abandoning of the Ivanui marae was that, as the sun was too hot on Rongo's back, the marae of Orongo was made on the west. It is probable that the arrival of the Ngati-Tane in the Ivirua district caused the scattered outposts of the Ngariki to withdraw toward the west to avoid being picked off. The scattered family groups were killed later by the Ngati-Tane to furnish the filling for the Maputu marae. When the priest Ue landed on the east, he found all the land in the Ivirua district occupied and had to push on toward the south, where he built the marae of Maungaroa just across the boundary with Tamarua.

The Te Kama tribe also landed on the east, but they worked north beyond the part occupied by Ngati-Tane and pushed into the Karanga district on the northeast, forming a wedge between Ngati-Tane and the Ngariki living in the Tavaenga district. After their first unsuccessful bid for power and subsequent minor attempts, they ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Ngati-Vara developed in the Veitatei district. Vara, the son of Papaaunuku, lived in Veitatei and his sons were attacked at Tangikura in that district. Koroa, in a song referring to the family of Mautara, speaks of the growth of a tribe in the valley of Raupo and of the men of Te Tuapoto who brought it to affluence. Te Tuapoto is a *tapere* (subdistrict) in Veitatei. The marae at which Potiki and Koroa worshiped Te-aio was Taku in the Veitatei subdistrict of Te Tukono, for which Te Tuaroa is another name. The two ancestral *tapere* of the Ngati-Vara are Te Tuapoto and Te Tekono in the Veitatei district, and the Ngati-Vara also had authority over the *tapere* of Te Noki. With their rise to power, the Ngati-Vara increased their land holdings. Mautara lived part of his time in the Keia district. The family meeting of the Ngati-Vara before the death of Rautoa took place on the marae of Are-una in the Ngaangarino subdistrict of Veitatei. When the Ngati-Vara practically exterminated the Tongaiti, they spread their boundaries into the Tamarua district. After their defeat by the combined Ngati-Tane and Manaune, they concentrated in the Tamarua district and fought their last battle at Putoa in that district.

The Manaune tribe developed in Karanga and the neighboring part of Ivirua. It is evident that Mautara must have given some subdistricts to Manaune in that area. Pangemiro, the Manaune leader who became the last Temporal Lord of Mangaia, had his two maraes, Te-ra-tui-vero and Are-vaka, in the Karanga district.

Of the other smaller tribes which became extinct, there is lack of detail as to their territory, except that the Tangiia or Kanae tribe lived near Lake Tiriara in the Veitatei district and that their marae was Rangitaua.

The tribes originally occupied definite continuous areas, but the subsequent wars led to a break in the continuity of the areas occupied. The conquerors, in annexing food lands from the conquered, took subdistricts which were remote from their original lands. The food lands and the rule over districts and subdistricts were the important spoils of victory. The redistribution of food lands led to the scattering of tribes; some families remained on the original land, but others settled on land awarded them in other districts. The tribe was nevertheless held together by the social mechanism which decided the grouping of individuals at birth and by the necessity for protection against other tribes.

Other territorial complications were brought about through the giving of presents of land by conquerors to friends of other tribes. Mautara gave land to Manaune in another district, and the Maunaune tribe grew up there.

Mautara gave presents of land to Te-vaki in a district other than Ivirua, with the result that the reborn Ngati-Tane grew up in districts other than their original home.

Subtribes

If the natural increase of a tribe is not dissipated by disastrous wars, subsidiary groupings tend to develop. In New Zealand, the larger tribes tracing descent from an eponymous ancestor divided as their numerical strength increased into secondary groups tracing descent from ancestors more recent than the common ancestor of the primary group. These secondary Maori groups of subtribes are termed *hapu* in distinction to the tribe, which is termed *iwi*. Most of the Mangaian tribes were too small or of too recent an origin to develop subtribes.

The smaller tribes, Te Kama, Kanae, and Tui-kura, had no chance of material increase, as they were constantly defeated in war. The Manaune were of too recent an origin to reach the stage of subdivision. Though the Ngati-Tane were one of the early tribes, the modern Ngati-Tane originated from a single male ancestor at the same recent time as the Manaune. The Ngati-Vara really commenced its growth with Mautara, who was a contemporary of the two single male ancestors of the Manaune and Ngati-Tane. Mautara, however, had a large male family, and the rate of increase of Ngati-Vara in the earlier generations succeeding Mautara was much greater than that of both Ngati-Tane and Manaune. The Ngati-Vara split into factions which did not actually reach the stage of subtribes and thus were not given specific names. They were alluded to merely as the descendants of the younger sons of Mautara who took up arms against the descendants of the older sons. The juniors (*teina*) fought the seniors (*tuakana*) through jealousy and wrecked the tribe.

The Tongaiti tribe, powerful in the early period of occupation, evidently budded off two subtribes called Teipe and Teaaki.

The mechanism of the subdivision is not known, but each selected a tribal god after whom the group was named. This involved dedication at the cutting of the navel cord, and the subsequent automatic grouping was assured. Though subtribes by origin, they were regarded as specific groupings to which the tribal term *kopu* was applied.

The Teipe subtribe seems to have become fairly strong during the early part of Ngauta's rule. Under the chief Maruataiti, they attempted to wrest the temporal supremacy from the parent tribe but were defeated by Ngauta at the battle of Auruia. After this lesson, they were allied with Ngauta and enjoyed prosperity. They again became somewhat arrogant, for after they had insulted Ngauta the Tongaiti crushed them in the battle of Ikuari. Later again they recovered, and their restless spirit caused them to join Ruanae in his struggle against Te Uanuku of the Ngati-Vara. After their defeat at Arira, they ceased to influence the politics of the country and the remnants furnished human sacrifices to Rongo.

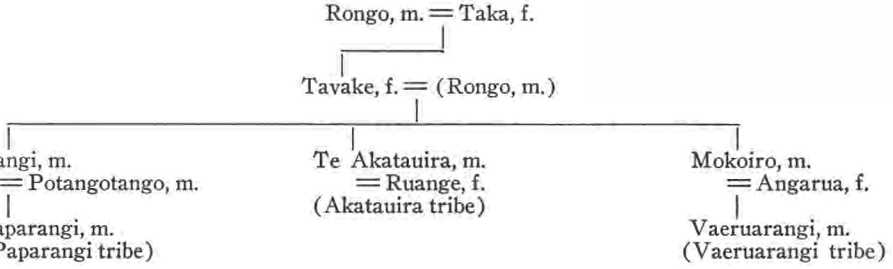
The Teaaki subtribe shared the prosperity of the Tongaiti under the rule of Ngauta. After the final defeat of Ngauta by the Ngariki, they attempted to revive the fallen fortunes of the tribe by plotting to kill the leaders of Ngariki. The plot failed and the main families with the chiefs Iro, Tuavira, Akaina, and Pati were expelled from the island. Koroa (12, p. 134) in a lament thus referred to them.

Kua pau Te'a'aki!	Teaaki [tribe] is gone,
Kua ta'una te matakeinanga o Te-tipi	The people of Te-tipi have been consumed [by fire],
Poroara io ia Ngariki.	Driven away by the Ngariki.

The tribe thus vanished from Mangaia, but as the exiles safely landed on Rarotonga, the Mangaian element in Titikaveka should represent, in part, the expelled Teaaki. They blended, however, with the local people, assumed a new grouping, and the name Teaaki disappeared.

The Ngariki claim that they were a tribe when Mangaian history opened. The important offices of that period were held by three brothers who formed the high chiefs (*nga ariki*) of the tribe. Enjoying a long period of early success in war, the tribe increased to the extent of subdivision.

Three divisions were formed, and the grouping followed the descent from the three brothers. The ancestral subdivision of the Ngariki is as follows:



The senior division was named after Paparangi, the son of Rangi. This division is often referred to as Ngariki. It had its own high chief (ariki), the last of whom was Maunganui (26, p. 244). In the distribution of authority, Rongo gave Rangi the drum of peace, and Rangi was the first Temporal Lord of Mangaia. It was probably intended that the temporal rule should descend in the senior line.

The Akatauira division took its name direct from one of the brothers. Rongo gave Te Akatauira the *karakia* (prayers and ritual). These formed the necessary equipment of the Inland and Shore High Priests of Rongo. As the last Inland High Priest was Te Ao of the Akatauira, it is probable that the more important of the two offices passed in succession in the Akatauira tribe. The tribe also had its own high chief, the last of whom happened to be also the holder of the office of high priest. The Akatauira held the *mangaia* under Panoko with the assistance of One of the Tongaiti.

The Vaeruarangi took its name from the son of Mokoiro. To Mokoiro, Rongo gave the authority over food. This developed into the office of the official Ruler of Food (*te ariki i te tapora kai*), which went by succession in the Vaeruarangi tribe. The office, at times, coincided with that of the high chief (ariki) of the tribe, for the names of Namu and Kaoa appear both as official Rulers of Food (12, p. 314) and as leaders of the Vaeruarangi tribe in battle (12, p. 310). The last High Chief and Ruler of Food was Mauri, who was visited by John Williams in 1829 (12, p. 314).

The three divisions of the Ngariki thus developed into distinct tribes which fought against each other for supremacy in spite of the fact that they worshiped the one god Motoro.

Social Grades

High chiefs, lesser chiefs, and commoners form the social grades within the tribes. The highest title (ariki) is vested in the *kiko mua* (first-born son of a first-born son) in each generation and cannot be held by a female. The fact that daughters may be born before a male child does not affect succession. A sister may be senior in birth to her ariki brother but, owing to the restric-

tion of the relationship term of *tuakana* to the same sex, her seniority is not recognized. When she marries, her children may be theoretically senior to those of her brother, but this is offset by the fact that they are *tama va'ine* and cannot supplant their cousins, who are *tama tane*. They have also passed out of the tribe and even their adoption can not obviate their *tama va'ine* descent. This rule has, however, been broken on occasion.

The ariki is senior to all other chiefs within the tribe. In the three Ngariki subtribes, each subtribe maintained its own ariki title, held in addition to other public offices. The other tribes of Mangaia did not establish ariki titles.

The junior members of a chiefly line were termed *rangatira* (chiefs). They came of good stock and, if they established strong families, they had to be considered in the politics of the tribe. An ariki, as the senior head of the tribe, had to consult his chiefs, who were termed the *'ui rangatira* (the assembly of chiefs). The ariki was often a figurehead who enjoyed certain privileges by virtue of his rank, but the family groups within the tribe were directly represented by the *'ui rangatira.*

The younger members of families, who in each generation were pushed farther and farther from any chance of succession to the higher ranks, became the commoners or mass of the people. They were free men, but the higher positions in the tribe were occupied by their seniors in birth. The power of a chief was influenced by the number of people who gave him allegiance. This depended on the male increase in his particular family group, and on the number of outside people he could support in his establishment. Seniority of blood, though revered, was somewhat theoretical as compared with the practical advantages of number.

In the course of history the prestige of the *toa* (successful warrior) began to overshadow that of the *rangatira* (chief). Successful leadership in war determined whether the tribe kept its own lands and acquired others. The warrior was given substantial shares of land. The war leader of the successful tribe became Temporal Lord of Mangaia, which carried more power than any hereditary office. A hereditary chief could not rely on his seniority alone, but, to maintain his power in the tribe, he had to be a warrior as well. Te Uanuku of Ngati-Vara held the *mangaia* through his personal prowess as much as through his being the first-born son of Mautara. None of his descendants displayed military leadership, and though his family is recognized as the *kiko mua,* the leadership in the tribe passed to junior branches of the family. The Ngariki alone endeavored to keep the original pattern based on hereditary succession, as they had everything to gain by adhering to it. The other tribes evidently admitted the Ngariki as direct descendants of Rongo and were not able to interfere with titles derived from that source.

Another class in the community were the priests of the tribal gods (*pi'a atua*). They fought in war in addition to following the duties of their profession. They were also *'are korero* (repository of tribal lore.)

The lowest class in the community were those who had been defeated in war and had not had time to reorganize their tribes. These people (*'ao* or *ivi panga,* "fatherless people"), immediately after battle, were fugitives hiding in the makatea or the mountain. After the sounding of the drum of peace they came forth and sought sustenance with their wives' relations, or became menials in the households of powerful chiefs.

The refuge caves and forest shelters of the *'ao* were termed *punanga.* Mention of one of these refuges is made in a song composed by Koroa (12, p. 121):

Tei Takimivera 'oki te punanga	At Takimivera is the refuge,
Punanga i te 'ao e!	The refuge of the conquered.

The fugitives lived on such fruits and berries as they could find in the vicinity of their shelters. In the night they descended to the taro lands, but the danger was great. They also moved about frequently when the enemy were hot on their trail. The difficulty of obtaining food drove some fugitives to cannibalism. Rats were trapped and occasionally fish were obtained secretly from the lagoon. Large bodies of fugitives hid in caves which could be easily defended from openings situated some distance up the side of the cliff.

One of the outstanding features in Mangaian history is the way in which the wives of fugitives stuck to their husbands. They arranged secret meeting places and brought food to them. Even when refuge caves were blockaded, wives were allowed to pass the guards and take what scanty food they could conceal about their persons. It was but rarely that the blockade was made so strict that the wives were searched and deprived of the food they were carrying. Sometimes wives obtained protection for their husbands under some powerful relation in their own tribe.

During the period of concealment, many of the refugees made nets and other objects to store up as wealth with which to buy protection.

When the peace drum sounded and the fugitives emerged from their refuges, the victors gave them a feast (*taperu kai*) in public recognition of their safety. The conquered, however, had lost their holdings in the rich taro lands of the *puna* districts. They were awarded shares in the upper narrow ends of the valleys where they could still grow a certain amount of taro. They were also given land in the makatea, where sweet potatoes and paper mulberry plants could be produced. The conquered were rather unjustly blamed for the shedding of blood that had occurred and therefore became servitors in the households of the victors. They grew the paper mulberry, caught fish, and grated the taro (*poke*) for their masters to pay for the blood which had been spilt (*ei tutaki i te toto i ta'e*). Their masters then allowed them some share in the taro land which is expressed by the phrase, "Ka 'angai i roto i te puna." (They fed them in the irrigated taro lands.) The lot of the serf depended on the character of the chief he served.

The serfs were naturally inclined to plot for a reversal of power. When a chief became dissatisfied with his servitor, he evicted him without com-

punction by sending him word to go or by indicating expulsion in some other form. One method was for the chief to sit down near the hut of the serf and make fire himself with the fire plough of two pieces of wood. This indicated that the serf's services were no longer needed in the household. When warned, the serf had to leave and seek another master. Gill (12, pp. 99-102) relates a pertinent story:

> The serf Autea, when asked by his master for the loan of a *nanue* hook, replied that the one he was using was all that he had. The fact that the master asked for a loan and allowed the serf to continue using his hook shows that the master was considerate. The master subsequently found out that the serf had several other *nanue* hooks in his fishing basket and so dismissed him summarily. The incident passed into the disciplinary saying, "Remember Autea."

When the serfs bought protection with goods manufactured during exile, as hooks, nets, and lines, they gave the best to their new masters. The masters generally made a show of magnanimity by allowing them to keep considerable quantities for themselves.

TITLES

Priests and Chiefs

The hereditary titles were those of the two High Priests of Rongo, the Ruler of Food, and the tribal priests. An acquired title was that of Temporal Lord of Mangaia. Chiefs were also appointed to rule over subdistricts (*tapere*) and districts (*puna*). Gill refers to the priests of Rongo as the "King defending the Interior'" and the "King defending the Shore." But as their functions were purely religious, the holders of the title may be more appropriately termed "high priests." Gill refers to the holder of the temporal power as Temporal Lord of Mangaia, which expresses the position, though he was more nearly a king than were the high priests.

Inland High Priest

The High Priest of Rongo who officiated on the inland marae was termed the *ariki-pa-uta* (high-chief-guarding-the-interior). The term *pa-uta* applies to his supposed function of guarding (*pa*) the island, by means of chants, from evil spirits that approached from the east. The marae where he officiated was inland (*uta*), as contrasted with that of the other high priest, which was on the western shore (*tai*). The list of priests who held the office is given by Gill (12, pp. 315, 316) as follows:

1. Rangi: senior of first three Ngariki chiefs.
2. Te-akatauira ariki.
3. Te-mata-o-Tangaroa.
4. Te-upoko-rau.
5. Rua-ika I: slain by Ngauta in battle.

6. Rau-ʻue: son of Vaeruarau the 5th shore high priest.
7. Poa-iti: contemporary of Ngangati.
8. Te-ao I: contemporary of Mautara.
9. Rua-ika II: held office when Cook visited Mangaia (1777).
10. Te-tipi.
11. Te-ao II: deposed by Pangemiro, died 1829.
12. Nu-manga-tini: accepted Christianity.

The title of Inland High Priest commenced with Rangi at the beginning of settlement. The second priest was probably Rangi's brother. The third is said to have been another brother. If so, the title originally passed to three brothers and then descended in the Akatauira tribe, probably from father to son when possible.

The first priest, Rangi, must have installed himself. Later installations were made by the Temporal Lord of Mangaia, who seated the newly inducted priest on the sacred block of sandstone (*keʻa*) placed in the coastal marae of Orongo. The installation made the officeholder one of the two official priests of Rongo (*piʻa atua no Rongo*). In preparation for this office, the priest was taught the incantations (*karakia*) that had been originally given by Rongo to Te Akatauira. His main duties were in connection with the sacrifices to Rongo, which took their most complicated form in the sacrifice after a victory:

> The conqueror consulted the Inland High Priest, who indicated the person to be sacrificed (*akakite ko ai te ika*) and girded the warriors with the sacred girdle of Rongo when they went out to secure the victim. As the paths to the valleys led over the central raised plateau, the girdle or girdles were put on when the war party reached the central mountain of Rangimotia. The sacrificial marae was Akaoro in the Keia district. The sacrifice (*ika,* "fish") was first brought to Akaoro, and the Inland High Priest performed the ritual and recited the appropriate incantations. The concluding part of the ceremony was performed at the shore marae of Orongo by his brother high priest. After the ceremony at Orongo, the Inland High Priest ordered the drum of peace to be sounded (*ʻakatangi i te paʻu*). Only the high priest could order the sounding of the official drum (*paʻu*) specially made for the occasion.

The observance of the proper ritual placated Rongo and made the reign of the Temporal Lord a successful one. The refusal of the high priest to conduct the ritual led to the venting of Rongo's anger upon the land. The slaying of people went on, the land was not legally redistributed, and famine followed. The power of the high priests was thus considerable. Gill (6, p. 293) states, "So sacred were their royal persons that no part of their bodies might be tattooed; they could not take part in dances or in actual warfare."

The sanctity of the high priest held so long as he restricted himself to his religious duties. If he interfered too much in temporal matters, he forfeited the immunity otherwise enjoyed. Rua-ika, the fifth high priest, was also ariki of the Akatauira tribe. He defeated the Tongaiti tribe under Tirango at the battle of Vaikakau but gave the temporal lordship to Tenau. He was

defeated at the battle of Taaonga by the Tongaiti under One, and again by the Tongaiti at Te-rua-kere-tonga and killed by Ngauta. His sanctity of office did not save his life.

The high priests were supposed to be neutral in the wars that took place and to be willing to perform the ritual to Rongo for the conqueror, no matter what his tribe. On occasion, however, they took political sides. The temporal power of a high priest was no more than that of an ordinary chief.

The high priest also officiated at the installation or raising (*'ikianga*) of the Ruler of Food.

Though the title of high priest ran in direct succession from father to son, the Temporal Lord acquired such power that he could influence the succession by having it bestowed upon some other member of the family. When Pangemiro deposed Te-ao, he bestowed the title on Numangatini, who at the time was holding the lesser title of Shore High Priest.

The high priest was rewarded for his services with liberal grants of land by the Temporal Lord. He also received official shares of food at public feasts, besides presents of food on ordinary occasions.

The Shore High Priest

The second priest of Rongo received the title of *ariki pa tai*. He was the defence on the coast (*pa tai*) from the spirits that came from the west. The list of Shore High Priests is given by Gill (12, pp. 316, 317) as follows:

1. Tui: from Rarotonga.
2. Tamatapu: son of Tui (some say that Te-pa held the office).
3. Vari, f.: a female, sister of Te-pa.
4. Puanga, f.: a female.
5. Vaeruarau: son of Puanga; killed by order of Ngauta; deified; his son Rau-ue was made Inland High Priest.
6. Ito: slain and eaten by hereditary foes in Mautara's time.
7. Kaiau-paku: son of Ito.
8. Te-nio-pakari: son of Ito.
9. Kanune: son of Te-nio-pakari, slain by Raumea.
10. Te-akatauira: son of Kanune.
11. Te-ivirau: drowned at sea.
12. Kaiau II.
13. Numangatini: grandson of Te-ivirau.

The first holder, Tui, was from Rarotonga. Some strong reason must have caused Rangi to give the second priestly office of the Ngariki tribe to an outsider. Tui married a woman of the Tui-kura tribe. He was evidently an isolated person without a tribe, for his son Tamatapu, who succeeded him, went to his mother's tribe to avenge an insult offered him. The Rarotongan succession ended with Tamatapu, for the office evidently went to Te-pa who belonged to the Ngariki. The office was apparently in a somewhat unstable condition, for it passed next to a female in the person of Vari, a sister of

Te-pa, and later to another female, Puanga, who probably belonged to the family of Te-pa. It is difficult to reconcile a woman with the position of high priest. Gill confuses the issue in his account of the installation of Vaeruarau. Through the constant fighting in Ngauta's younger days, the priestly family had become exterminated with the exception of Puanga and her infant son, Vaeruarau. At the cessation of war, it was decided to install Vaeruarau and celebrate the occasion with a great feast. Gill (12, p. 86) states:

> Every preparation for the feast was completed; all the great men of the time were waiting; but who should perform the necessary *karakia* or "prayers"? Buanga [Puanga], the mother of the infant king, could not, being disqualified by her sex, though well versed in these "prayers". The baby king Vaeruarau was too young to learn. Not a creature else on the island was eligible to perform such sacred functions. What was to be done? A happy thought struck the mother. Though her child, high priest of the gods, was too young to perform the accustomed prayers, he was not too young to cry! She therefore gave the young king a smart blow on the back, causing him to cry lustily. This was enough; the royal voice had sounded in the hearing of the gods, although not quite in the right way! It was to be accepted in the place of the "prayers" of "grace"; and of course the feast was immediately proceeded with to the satisfaction of all parties.

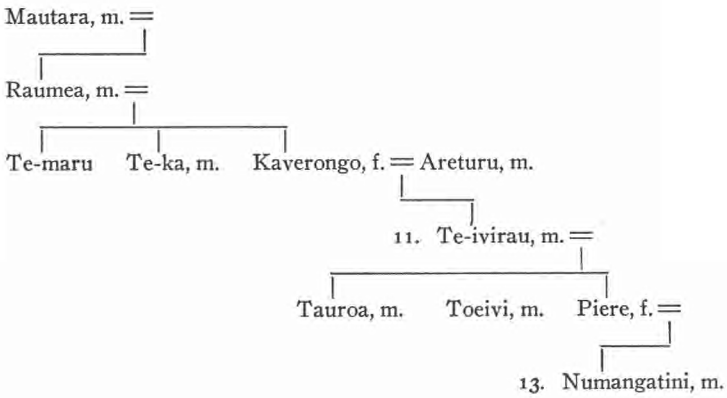
Puanga has been put in the list of succession as the fourth high priest. Yet in the installation of her son, she could not recite the ritual on the marae because of her sex. Evidently neither Puanga nor Vari could have officiated on the marae of Rongo as high priestesses. They have been included in the list of succession by the native historians because the succession came through them and they had had the correct ritual taught them in order to transmit it. The teaching of sacred ritual to women shows one of the methods a family took to safeguard its immaterial property. Matrilineal succession of Vaeruarau was caused by the fact that all other male members of Puanga's family had been killed. It is not stated what relation Ito, the sixth priest, held to his predecessor, but after him the succession went in the male line:

6. Ito, m. =
   - 7. Kaiau-paku, m.
   - 8. Te-nio-pakari, m. =
     - 9. Kanune, m. =
       - 10. Te-akatauira, m.

Te-nio-pakari succeeded his elder brother, probably because his elder brother's son, if he had one, was too young to succeed his father. The reason for this supposition is that Mautara instructed his two eldest sons to select Kanune as a high priest to sound the drum of Rongo after their future victories. If Kaiau-paku had had no children Kanune would have been the

rightful successor and Mautara would not have needed to use such selective power.

The relationship of Te-ivirau to his predecessor is not clear, but his pedigree on the Ngati-Vara side is as follows:



On his mother's side, Te-ivirau belonged to Ngati-Vara, so that the office of high priest came through his father, Areturu. The twelfth high priest, Kaiau II, was probably the Pai who seized the temporal lordship from his brother, Kirikovi. After his death the office reverted to the family of Te-ivirau and went to his daughter's son, Numangatini. I do not know why it did not go to his sons or their families, but it is probable that Pangemiro, the Temporal Lord of that time, used his selective powers. Gill (12, p. 315) states that some of the shore kings were natural sons of great interior kings, but gives no examples. On the other hand, Rauue, the sixth Inland High Priest, was the son of Vaeruarau, the fifth Shore High Priest.

The Shore High Priest officiated on the great marae of Orongo on the coast:

> The human sacrifice was brought to Orongo after being exposed at Akaoro, and the Shore High Priest completed the ceremonial. He cut off the ears and nose of the victim and divided them into pieces for distribution among the new officials created by the victory which the ceremony celebrated.

He seems also to have assisted the Temporal Lord on occasions.

> Vaeruarau lived inland near Ngauta and had his own small marae named Ariana where he kept his shell trumpet. On a night when Ngauta decided to destroy a party of fishermen for an insult offered to one of his tribe, Vaeruarau summoned the warriors by blowing his shell trumpet. He then accompanied Ngauta and on the central hill of Rangimoto adjusted on each warrior the girdle sacred to Rongo.

The Shore High Priest ranked second to the Inland High Priest. While exercising his office, his person was extremely sacred. Gill (12, p. 317) records that on the sacred marae of Orongo, "even 'the Temporal Lord of

Mangaia' approached him, after his attendants had deposited his offering, crawling on all fours!" When war broke out, however, the power of the warrior became supreme, and the sacred nature of his office did not protect the Shore High Priest's life if he interfered in temporal matters.

Though Vaeruarau was useful to the Temporal Lord Ngauta in his early days, later Ngauta ordered his death. His successor, Ito, was not only slain but was eaten by his hereditary foes. Kanune entered into politics when he assisted Mautara's sons in killing the Temporal Lord, Akatara, and his party at a feast. Kanune boasted of his prowess to Raumea, and later Raumea killed him because he recognized that Kanune was likely to become a source of trouble in temporal affairs. The gods avenged his death but seem to have taken no notice of the deaths of Vaeruarau and Ito.

The Shore High Priest was rewarded with gifts of subdistricts of land which were confirmed or added to by the various Temporal Lords in recognition of the priests' services on the marae of Orongo in connection with their accession to power. The Shore High Priest was also recognized as having a special right over all turtles caught, and he received the special portion including the head and neck termed *te ua o te ʻonu.* This right dated back to early times as shown by the story of Tamatapu, the second priest, who caused a whole party of Ngati-Tane fishermen to be annihilated because he heard two turtle-bearers speak disparagingly of him.

Gill (12, p. 379) gives the story of Numangatini's installation as Shore High Priest in about 1814, as follows:

The morning star had just appeared, when the loud call *E tama*—"O sir!" aroused him. Coming outside he found Tamaine and Vaipo, deputed by "the Lord of Mangaia" as representing the victors. Two curiously plaited coconut leaves were placed on the ground; he was desired to plant his feet on them. His legs were then carefully anointed with scented coconut oil. Then the sacred girdle (*maro aitu*) was adjusted by them on his person. Six stout white garments (*tikoru*), beaten out from the inner bark of the *Broussonetia papyrifera,* were next placed on his shoulders. Finally these vestments were removed and hidden in a sacred cave. This was the secret ceremony. The public installation of the new king took place a day or two later. He was on this occasion formally seated by the Temporal Lord, in the presence of the leading under-chiefs, upon "the sacred sandstone" in Rongo's marae on the seashore, facing the setting sun.

The Ruler of Food

The full title of the Ruler of Food is *te ariki i te ua i te tapora kai* (the high chief presiding at the head of the food baskets). Gill translates the title freely as "Ruler of Food", which suits the office. In the distribution of authority among his three sons, Rongo gave the authority over food to Mokoiro. In the following list by Gill (12, p. 314), Mokoiro figures as the first Ruler of Food:

1. Mokoiro I: from Avaiki.
2. Mokoiro II: son of Mokoiro I.
3. Amu
4. Maru
5. Kaoa I: drowned at Te-rua-ava-roa.

6. Namu I: slain by Ngauta.
7. Kaoa II: slain by Ngangati at Te-au-papa.
8. Motau
9. Namu II: son of Motau; friend of Mautara; slain by Potai.
10. Kaoa III: held office during Potiki's rule.
11. Metua-rangiia.
12. Mauri: visited by Rev. John Williams in 1829, died soon after.

As the Vaeruarangi tribe descended from Vaeruarangi, a son of Mokoiro, it is evident that Mokoiro II must have been a brother of or another name for Vaeruarangi, the office of Ruler of Food went by succession in the Vaeruarangi tribe. My informant Akaeakore, however, maintained that Mokoiro I was a son of Te-akatauira. Gill (12, p. 310) definitely states that Kaoa, shown in the list as the seventh Ruler of Food, was defeated with his Vaeruarangi tribe by Ngangati at the battle of Te-au-papa. This supports the contention that the office passed in succession in the Vaeruarangi division of Ngariki.

The maraes of Rangi-taua in the Keia district and Mau-kiore in Tavaenga are attributed to Mokoiro I, and those of Mamara-atua in Tavaenga and Tavaenga-nui in Tamarua to Mokoiro II. Amu, the third ruler, was evidently the leader of the warriors who defeated the invading Aitutakians at the battle of Iotepui (12, p. 308). The Rulers of Food thus fought with their own tribe when necessary and thereby made themselves obnoxious to the enemy. Three holders of the title were killed.

The office was hereditary like those of the high priests of Rongo and could not be acquired by another tribe. Thus when Namu II was a fugitive from his enemies, Mautara sent for him to perform the duties associated with his office during Mautara's period of rule. Mautara rewarded him by giving him authority over three subdistricts.

The fertility of the land and trees was held to depend on the distribution of the portions of the human sacrifice divided among the ruling chiefs at the ceremony held on the Orongo marae. In olden times the Ruler of Food had some influence as to the imposing of closed seasons (*ra'ui*) over districts and fishing grounds in order to let depleted food supplies recover. In times of peace, he exercised a ceremonial control over the distribution of food at public feasts. The food was really divided into the required allotments by the local chiefs responsible for the feast, and the public calling of the shares was then made by the Ruler of Food. He was versed in the correct ceremonial and order of precedence for such occasions. The chief who placed the food in the required heaps acted as his hands, but the voice remained with the official Ruler of Food. The correct observance of ceremonial added to the importance of the feast and was associated with continued prosperity. The hereditary title was treated with great respect during peace, and even the change in Temporal Lords did not affect the position so long as the office-

holder and his tribe were not involved in war. During war times the Ruler of Food superintended the provisioning of the troops of his own tribe.

Priests of the Tribal Gods

The power of the priests of the tribal gods was confined solely within the tribe which served the particular god. Conquering tribes seem to have taken a particular interest in killing the priest of the defeated tribe as an offering to Rongo.

Of 9 priests of Tane, no less than 5 were killed and offered in sacrifice to Rongo; a sixth, Te-vaki, was saved from a similar fate only through the power of Mautara. The Ngariki never forgave the Ngati-Tane priesthood for having filled their marae of Maputu with human heads largely obtained from the Ngariki tribe. The priests of Turanga, the god of the Tongaiti tribe, escaped more lightly, for out of twelve priests only two were killed and two banished.

The Ngariki had to spare the priests of Motoro, the tribal god to whom their children were dedicated at the cutting of the navel cord, in order to remain in touch with the god. Early in history, the Ngariki evidently had cause to be inimical to the family of Vara, the second priest of Motoro. Yet they could not kill Vara. They vented their spite by killing all Vara's sons except the eldest, Te-rau. The life of Te-rau was spared in order that the succession of priests might continue. Mautara, the sixth priest, made war against his employers, the Ngariki. He went into battle, however, with a fan only, as no Ngariki would kill him. In the subsequent wars of the Ngati-Vara, no Ngariki laid hands on the acting priest of Motoro. The Tongaiti tribe slew two priests of Motoro, as Motoro was not their god.

The priesthoods passed from father to son but not necessarily to the eldest son. When there was no direct male issue, succession followed on the female side.

The functions of the priests were to conduct the ceremonial on the tribal marae and to consult the tribal god concerning matters of tribal importance. The priest was the *pi'a* (receptacle) which the god entered when required. The god made his wishes known through the voice of the priest. Unswerving obedience to the god's commands gave the priests great power and made them the last court of appeal in deciding knotty problems with regard to war and tribal politics. The priests, who were the scholars and men of learning, were wise enough to follow the feelings and desires of their group when making known the wishes of the gods.

Some priests used the voice of the god to further their own personal ends. Through using the voice of Motoro, both Mautara and Te-vaki obtained revenge. The high priest of Rongo could vent a personal spite by indicating the person he hated as a human sacrifice to Rongo.

The voice of the god was used for humane purposes as well. Mautara and Paeke used Motoro's voice to save defeated Tongaiti from extinction by exiling them. Some priests protected people from death by secreting them in the curtained chamber of the house set apart for the second image of their

god. Curiously enough, the men recorded as so saved were priests of other gods.

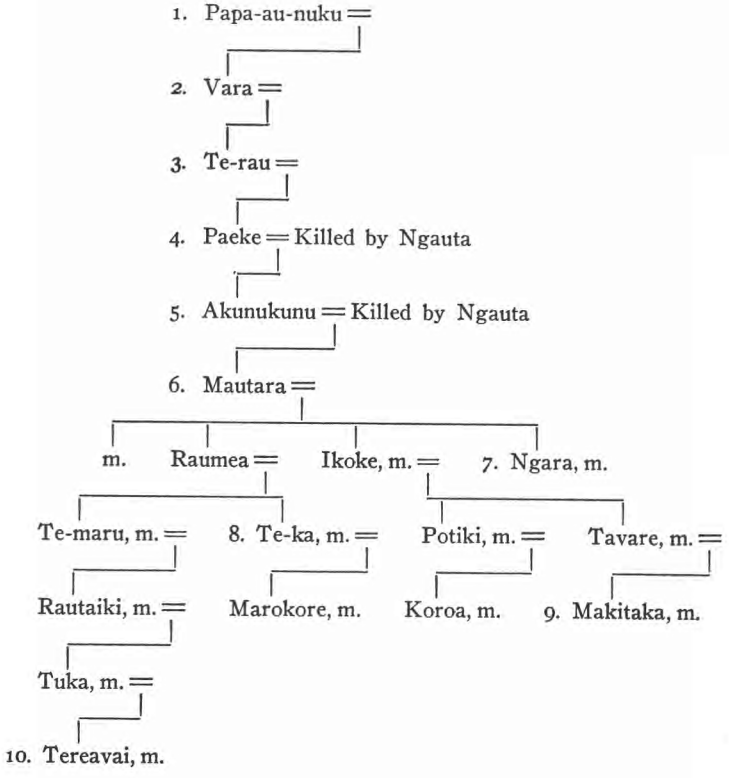
Namu, the Ruler of Food, was concealed for a month by his father-in-law in the chamber where his god Teipe was kept. The Teipe tribe had determined on the death of Namu. Their hatred was so great that the warriors invaded the sacred chamber; but Namu, through a timely warning, had fled.

Mautara similarly concealed Te-vaki, and though the enemy knew of Te-vaki's place of concealment they dared not invade the chamber. They set up a guard around the house. Had Te-vaki quitted his place of refuge for an instant he would have been slain. Mautara's curtained chamber (*pa tikoru*) was so sacred that Te-vaki remained there for a whole year, when the defeat of his enemies in battle allowed him to emerge in safety.

The priests also had power in influencing the succession of chieftainship. When the direct blood heir was unsuitable, the tribal god might declare that he resided in a junior member of the family.

The succession lists of the priests of only three tribal gods, Motoro, Tane, and Turanga, have been recorded, but all the other gods had their priests.

From the genealogical table of the Ngati-Vara is taken the following list of the priests of Motoro:



The succession of priests of Motoro remained patrilineal throughout. It went to only sons of the first six generations with the exception of Te-rau, who was the eldest of five sons and was spared because of his primogeniture. Ngara, the seventh priest, was the youngest of eight sons. Though Ngara had sons, the office passed to his nephew, Te-ka. From Te-ka, it passed to a second cousin, Makitaka. Gill's statement (12, p. 312) that succession was from father to son is thus inaccurate. Tereavai was priest of Te-aio, who had become accepted by the Ngati-Vara as their god in place of Tane. When Makitaka died, Christianity had made headway, and Tereavai was never installed as priest of Motoro, though he would have succeeded to the position under normal conditions. After putting up a last fight to regain the temporal supremacy for the Ngai-Vara, Tereavai forsook Te-aio for Christianity and became a deacon in the church.

The temporal lordship was held by three priests of Motoro, namely, Mautara, Ngara, and Makitaka.

The priests of Motoro occupied the unique position of being the medium between a god they did not worship and a tribe with which they were at enmity. They claimed precedence over the priests of other tribal gods.

Gill (12, pp. 312, 313) lists the priests of Tane as follows:

1. Turuia: from Tahiti, slain by Tamatapu's warriors; laid on marae of Rongo.
2. Mouna
3. Matariki: sacrificed to Rongo at Ariki.
4. Tiora: sacrificed to Rongo at Ariki.
5. Te-punga: sacrificed to Rongo by Tuanui; cooked head sent to Mautara.
6. Te-vaki: sole survivor of Ngati-Tane; saved by Mautara.
7. Taeimua (Kakari)
8. Vaekura
9. Pange-ivi ('Erema'a): died in 1830, a Christian.

The first five priests of Tane were worshipers of Tane-ngaki-au, after whom allegiance was transferred to Tane-i-te-ata, also called Tane-kio. The succession is termed "te ara pi'a o Tane."

The priests of Turanga, worshiped by the Tongaiti, are given by Gill (12, p. 313) as follows:

1. Te-ao: navigator of the original Tongaiti canoe which arrived in the time of Rangi.
2. Tama-keu: time of Te-akatauira.
3. Ivi: time of Vaeruarangi.
4. Tirango: killed at Angamoa.
5. Tamangaro: exiled from island.
6. Moa
7. Ngangaru: killed by Ngangati at Tamarua.
8. Parae (Para'i ?): helped to turn battle of Aua in Mautara's favor; a wise man.
9. Tea (also Poa)
10. Ivi
11. Maueue: died in 1828 without changing faith.

The succession of priests of Turanga was termed "te ara pi'a o Tongaiti." Pati, not given in the above list, was also a priest of the Tongaiti tribe,

but he probably belonged to the subtribe of Teaaki, which was exiled. Keu, who saved Namu, was a priest of Teipe.

Temporal Lord

The supreme temporal power (*mangaia*) was held, not by a hereditary successor, but by the leader supreme on the field of battle who became what Gill (12, p. 308) terms "victor and consequent real 'Lord of Mangaia.'" When the victorious party was not dominated by one personality the leading warriors decided which of them should hold the position of Temporal Lord.

The installation of the Lord of Mangaia was preceded by six distinct processions around the island by the victorious party which are described by Gill (6, pp. 294, 295) substantially as follows:

> In the first procession the victorious party went fully armed to assert their supremacy and challenge opposition. Anyone, regardless of age or sex, who crossed their path, was killed. The subsequent processions were peaceful and intended to demonstrate that peace was about to dawn on the land. At the end of one circuit, a number of second-rate wooden weapons, modeled after the various types in use, were broken against the trunk of a large chestnut tree growing near the inland marae of Akaoro. The breaking of spears denoted the ending of war. During another circuit, all the principal maraes of the island were visited and a forked stick (*toko*) was set up in each. This signified that the principal chiefs of each district would act as a *toko* (support) of the new rule. Small houses, termed *'are ei 'au* (house for conserving peace), about 6 feet long, were erected on all the maraes. The gods were thus provided with a well-thatched house which shut out wind and rain, signifying war and bloodshed. All the tribal gods having been pacified, the great national god of war, Rongo, remained to be propitiated with a human sacrifice.

The human sacrifice (p. 179) was exposed first on the inland marae of Akaoro and later taken to the shore marae of Orongo.

> The Shore High Priest cut off the ears of the victim with a bamboo knife. The right ear represented the land districts on the right or southern side of the island. It was cut up into sections representing each subdistrict on that side. The left ear, representing the left or northern side of the island, was dealt with similarly. The priest asked who held the *mangaia* and the person agreed upon stood up, saying, "Ei aku te mangaia" (I have the *mangaia*). The appointment was confirmed by the silence of the assembled chiefs. The Temporal Lord sat down without receiving any portion of the ears. The names of the district and subdistrict chiefs were then called in order, commencing with the head of the fish of Rongo on the right (Tamarua) and ending with the head of the fish of Rongo on the left (Ivirua). The order was the same as in the ceremonial distribution of food (p. 139). Each of the chiefs so named then received a portion of the ears, wrapped in a ti leaf according to Gill (6, p. 297), but according to my informants pinned to a *tamanu* leaf. The Temporal Lord, whose name was called out again as head of a land district, received a share in that capacity and was served first. The portions of the human sacrifice to Rongo formed the letters patent to office. The pieces were deposited on the various tribal maraes and later buried in the subdistricts they represented.

The presentation of the piece of human ears was followed by a feast to the warriors and chiefs. At this feast the Ruler of Food presided and the shares were called in ceremonial order.

The drum of peace was then sounded by the official drummer, whose position was hereditary. His relations assisted in increasing the volume of sound by playing on smaller drums. The high priests of Rongo headed a procession and recited an incantation for peace. At certain parts, the male members of the priestly families joined in a chorus while the drums kept time. A seventh circuit of the island was made, the ceremonies being repeated at the maraes in each district. The drum of peace announced that the rule of the Temporal Lord was properly inaugurated and all fugitives in hiding could emerge in safety. After the sounding of the drum, no blood was to be shed.

On the termination of a campaign the lands of the conquered were forfeited to the victors. The Temporal Lord was thus enabled to reward the leading warriors who had supported him by giving them positions of authority over districts and subdistricts. The position of Temporal Lord carried no land with it. In order to share in the material benefits of conquest, the Temporal Lord took authority over a district and subdistrict as well. In the earlier period of Mangaian society the conquerors simply took the lands of the conquered. The development of ceremonial, however, necessitated the public naming of the various officeholders during the installation of the Temporal Lord on the marae. It is probable, therefore, that powerful chiefs of neutral tribes who had not been involved in a war were not disturbed in their territorial holdings, but were confirmed in them at the marae ceremony. Owing to the practical extinction of the Tongaiti and its subtribes and the loss of influence of the Ngariki, Pangemiro, by defeating the Ngata-Vara, was able to award all the district and subdistrict positions to the combined tribes of Manaune and Ngati-Tane.

Gill (12, p. 376) states that after the accession of a new chief the wise men (*'are korero*) charged him to rule well. Two of the phrases used are: "Aua ei vu'u te rango" (Let not the flies [the serfs] be swept away), and "Aua ei nga'ae te rauika" (Let not the banana be split). The banana leaf symbolized the state, which was not to be rent by internal discord.

Mautara's reign as Temporal Lord (*te 'au o Mautara*) of about 25 years is the longest on record. The reign of Potiki was 20 years, but most of the reigns were comparatively short. Gill (6, p. 300) states that the coral tree (*Erythrina coralodendron*), which has blood-red flowers, was planted in the valleys in token of peace. Coconut trees were also planted. It is stated that the only Temporal Lords under whom peace lasted long enough for the planted coconuts to bear were Tuanui, Mautara, Ngara, Potiki, and Pangemiro.

The Temporal Lord made a visit of state to any district where trouble was brewing. After the feast in his honor, he exhorted the local chief to

support his rule by preserving peace. He asked them to prop up his rule, not with rotten sticks, but with ironwood. Referring to the coconuts he had planted, he begged them to let the coconut palms grow tall and not to fell them. The tall palm, which bore fruit, symbolized a long reign of peace (12, p. 376). The maintenance of peace was of paramount importance to the ruling Temporal Lord, for with the shedding of blood his reign automatically ended.

District and Subdistrict Chiefs

During the reign of Pangemiro the island divided into six districts (*puna*). At the installation of the Temporal Lord, the district chiefs (*pava*) were appointed from among the successful warriors. The recognition that the position came through prowess in battle is shown by two phrases referring to the right of the *pava* to his position, "va'arua taiki" (hole made by a *taiki* weapon), and "ara to'anga," which literally means "the path by which the position came," but which my informants translated as "a scar from battle." Of the district of Vaitatei it was said, "No Motu'anga te va'arua (Motuanga had the spear wound), and of Keia, "No Muraa'i te ara to'anga" (Muraai had the scar). Thus Motuanga and Muraai, both adopted into Ngati-Tane on their *tama-vahine* (mothers') side, received distinct chieftainship through wounds and scars, either figurative or actual, obtained in fighting on the Ngati-Tane side in the battle against the Ngati-Vara.

The districts were divided up into five to ten subdistricts (*tapere*), each of which was ruled over by a subdistrict chief. There was no area of land specifically associated with the office of *pava*. Theoretically, the Temporal Lord selected the six *pava,* and each *pava* selected the chiefs to rule over the subdistricts under him. As he selected from his own relations, it was his wound (*va'arua*) or scar (*ara to'anga*) that gave to the subdistrict chiefs their right to authority. The *pava,* however, usually took control of one of the subdistricts and named himself in connection with it.

Each subdistrict had its name and was governed by a chief, whose title, *kairanga-nuku* (*kairanga,* "eating"; *nuku,* "land"), signified that the chief ate of the produce of the land in the subdistrict and also that the people ate through him. He saw to the distribution of the taro lands within the subdistrict. When he took office, he evicted the members of defeated tribes and relegated them to the uplands or the makatea. He might exercise compassion by leaving the conquered certain portions in the taro lands. He helped to readjust distribution on the death of landholders and settled disputes with regard to lands. An injured person could appeal to the *pava.*

The *kairanga-nuku* are now referred to as the *'ui rangatira* (assembly of chiefs) of the *pava.* The *pava* and his *'ui rangatira* meet to settle disputes

regarding land and other matters of district importance. They are responsible for the policy of the district. The chiefly assembly of the Veitatei *puna,* with six *tapere,* is called *nga ono o Veitatei* (the six of Veitatei). This refers to the six *kairanga-nuku,* one of whom is the *pava.*

Chief of the Makatea

A curious position, Chief of the Makatea, was created in the time of Atatoa.

According to the Ngati-Vara version, Atatoa, after being mortally wounded by a section of Ngati-Vara under Kaunio, was succored by another section of Ngati-Vara, though too late to save his life. Atatoa was a high chief of the Keia district. To requite the assistance of the friendly section of Ngati-Vara, Atatoa on his deathbed gave one of them, Kapua, the authority over the makatea of the Keia district. This action was followed by Veitatei and other districts so that all the makatea surrounding Mangaia was placed under Kapua, making him the Chief of the Makatea (*te ariki o te makatea*).

The office descended in the Ngati-Vara, who by the last battles fought on Mangaia became associated with the makatea without hope of regaining chieftainship over the *puna* lands. The position was subsequently held by Mamae and passed to his son Aiteina, who retains a share of Ngati-Vara land in the district of Veitatei. In connection with this district, Aiteina has a special share of food at feasts and the official call is "Te 'ui rangatira no Ka'u-mata!" (The assembly of chiefs from Kau-mata!) He has no *tapere* in the district, but the land over which he rules is the makatea and the mountain, the land of the conquered. He holds the office given to Kapua, but the relationship between Kapua and Kau-mata was not made clear to me.

LAND

Classification

The Magaians divide the land into three classes, the *puna,* the *rau-tu-anu'e,* and the *rau-tuitui.*

The *puna* lands comprise the low-lying region between the inland wall of the makatea and the slopes of the central mountain. They are referred to by Marshall as the "taro flats" (16, p. 35). At the makatea boundary the land is swampy. On the mountain side the boundary is irregular, owing to the varying width of the valleys. Wherever the valleys are wide enough to permit terraced cultivation, the land is included in the *puna* class. The taro supply of the island is grown in the *puna* by means of terraced irrigation.

The *rau-tuanu'e* derives its name from the *anu'e* fern which clothes the volcanic slopes and sides of the narrow valleys. Strictly speaking, the *rau-tu-anu'e* includes the area between the *puna* and the raised ridge of Rangimotia, but practically it refers to the narrow upland valleys. The valleys (*vao*) contain forest growth including the *nono* (*Morinda citrifolia*), the fruit of which is eaten in times of dearth. Along the sides of the small streams are narrow patches of fertile soil in which taro is grown. The area of such soil is small, but the taro produced is good in quality. A drought might cause

the taro swamps in the *puna* to dry up, but the narrow streams would probably still contain enough water to irrigate the small taro patches of the *rau-tu-anu'e*.

The *rau-tuitui* denotes the makatea area. The name is derived from the candlenut tree (*tuitui*), which grows plentifully on the makatea and supplies food in time of want. The old channels and hollows where soil has been deposited, termed *puta ko'atu* (holes in the rock), are of value in the cultivation of the sweet potato and paper mulberry.

After a battle the *puna* lands were divided up among the victors. The conquered were relegated to the *rau-tu-anu'e* and the *rau-tuitui*. The term *puna*, as applied to a district, includes a portion of upland valleys and makatea, but in speaking of classes of land as a form of property *puna* is restricted to the taro flats. Similarly, *rau-tu-anu'e* is used instead of *vao*, and *rau-tuitui* instead of makatea.

The high central land which produces no food is referred to as the *maunga* (mountain).

Districts and Subdistricts

According to a myth quoted by Gill (6, p. 128), the god Te-manava-roa lies buried face downward on Mount Rangimotia with his head toward the east. The half-mile crest of the mountain forms his backbone. This story forms another example of the inconsistency of the Mangaian myth-makers, for Te-manava-roa is also described as one of the primary spirits who dwelt in a region far below Avaiki. Owing, however, to the disposal of the body of Te-manava-roa, the south of the island is referred to as the right (*katau*) and the north side as the left (*kaui*). In Pangemiro's time the island had become definitely divided into 6 districts, 3 on the right and 3 on the left. The island is referred to in ceremonial speeches as "the fish of Rongo" (*te ika o Rongo*). Following the Te-manava-roa myth, the head of the fish lies to the east. The fish is divided longitudinally to represent the three land districts on the right and left. The right and left land districts on the east represent the head (*pauru*) of the fish, the right and left districts on the west represent the tail (*'iku*), and the two middle districts represent the body (*pori*) of the fish. It has now become customary to omit the word "fish" in speeches. Thus Tamarua, which is the eastern district on the right is referred to as *te pauru o Rongo i katau* (the head [of the fish] of Rongo on the right). The other districts are referred to similarly according to the part and "the side" they represent.

In addition to these honorific names, the districts have their ordinary names which are now different from those originally applied to them:

Present Name	Old Name	Honorific Name
Tamarua	Mangonui	Te pauru o Rongo i katau (head on right)
Veitatei	Patiki-enua-o-Rangi	Te pori o Rongo i katau (body on right)
Keia (Kei'a)	Te-apunavai	Te 'iku o Rongo i katau (tail on right)
Ivirua	Ivirua	Te pauru o Rongo i kaui (head on left)
Karanga	Karanga	Te pori o Rongo i kaui (body on left)
Tavaenga (Tava'enga)	Te-kura	Te 'iku o Rongo i kaui (tail on left)

As shown in figure 1, the six districts (*puna*) form segments which radiate from a common center on the summit of Rangi-motia. The side boundaries follow leading ridges, cross the makatea, and extend to the reef.

Some of the subdistricts (*tapere*) did not reach the makatea wall, as their boundaries were influenced by the nature and direction of the streams and ridges within the district. Each subdistrict, however, had a portion of makatea and reef awarded to it so that all subdistricts should have a share in the *rau-tuitui* and the lagoon and reef.

After Pangemiro secured the temporal power, the districts and subdistricts were distributed among the Manaune and Ngati-Tane tribes. The distribution on the right (*tu'a a katau*) was supposed to favor Ngati-Tane, and the distribution on the left (*tu'a a kaui*) to favor the Manaune. In actual fact, the Manaune received a greater number of subdistricts than the Ngati-Tane.

In the manuscript of Mamae, the following lists of subdistricts with the awards of district and subdistrict chiefs were written under the heading, "Te tu'anga ia A'ua'u, i te tara a te aronga pakari" (The distribution of Mangaia, according to the story of the old people):

1. Tamarua (Parima held the pauru-o-Rongo)

	Tapere	Chief	Remarks
1.	Maru-kore	Maunganui	
2.	Poutoa-i-uta	Kaimoe	
3.	Poutoa-i-miri	Te-ouapuku	
4.	Akaea	Teau	
5.	Te-vai-kao	Pekai	Given by the Manaune to Numangatini Ariki as a present.
6.	Angauru (Autaki)	Arakauvae	Afterwards given to Tereavai (Ngati-Vara) Ua tutukuia ia Tereavai).
7.	Vaitangi (Pukuotoi)	Tia-iti	
8.	Te-vai-taeta-i-uta	Aitama	
9.	Te-vai-taeta-i-tai	Maueue	

Note: The first three *tapere* in List 1 were awarded to Ngati-Tane, and the remaining six to Manaune. The Ngati-Tane gave one and the Manaune gave two to members of other tribes. Parima, the district chief, had no subdistrict.

2. Veitatei (Motuanga had the spear wound)

1.	Te-noki	Motuanga
2.	Te-tuaroa (Te-tukono)	Taia-iti
3.	Te-tuapoto	Punga-rua
4.	Te-tarapiki	Pakuunga
5.	Kaikatu	Ruaporo
6.	Angarino	Arokapiti

Note: Three subdistricts in List 2 went to Ngati-Tane, of which Arokapiti was the leader, and three to Manaune, of which Pangemiro was the leader. Motuanga was district chief and held a subdistrict.

3. Keia (Muraai had the battle scar)

1. Akaoro	Muraai and Tangataroa
2. Tapuata	Te-ika
3. Tongamarama	Raoa
4. Te-inati	Metua-uti
5. Rupetau-i-miri	Okinga
6. Rupetau-i-uta	Te-ao, the deposed high priest

NOTE: Mamae states, "Eia tu'anga e ono nei, tei a Pangemiro te 'aka'aere; kareka o te tutara i runga i'o tei Arokapiti." (These six shares, the distribution was with Pangamiro; but the title above them was with Arokapiti). This seems to mean that Pangemiro appointed the subdistrict chiefs, but Arokapiti selected the district chief.

4. Ivirua

1. Te-pauru-o-Rongo	Mauri
2. Te-korokoro	Takitaki
3. Te-uturei	Nia (Tuarau)
4. Te-ara-nui-o-Toi	Tane
5. Te-i'i-maru	Tuamoru'ia (Tumutoa)
6. Avarari	?

NOTE: Mamae gave no details and omitted the sixth subdistrict of Avarari. Local informants stated that Te-pauru-o-Rongo went to the Ngariki tribe, the Ara-nui-o-Toi went to Ngati-Tane, and the remaining four subdistricts went to the Manaune. As Mauri, the subdistrict chief of Te-pauru-o-Rongo, was a son of Pangemiro, it would appear that, though he ruled over the subdistrict, the land was for division among the Ngariki tribe. Tuarau and Vairota of the Karanga district and the two subdistricts of Te-uturei and Te-ii-maru, to which these men belonged, are coupled together under the name of Nga-toki (the adzes) to commemorate the use they made of their adzes.

5. Karanga (Pangemiro had the spear wound)

1. Kaaü-i-uta	Pangemiro
2. Kaau-i-miri	Mauri
3. Teia-pini	Pangemiro
4. Teia-poto	Are-tupe
5. Teia-roa	Makaatu

NOTE: In another manuscript the word Teia in the third, fourth, and fifth subdistricts is spelled Te-i'i-a and is followed by the same endings. Pangemiro, the Temporal Lord, lived in Karanga, and all the subdistricts went to the Manaune. Though there are only five *tapere,* the Manaune say there are six with the wood (*e ono i te rakau*). The story is that Vairoto, who belonged to Karanga, was indicated as a human sacrifice to Rongo. It was evidently left to the Manaune to bring the sacrifice to the marae in Keia. Thereupon Tuarau and Tumutoa of Ivirua carved a figure to represent Vairoto, and Pangemiro sent it in to the marae. The Manaune were strong enough to carry off this disobedience to the high priest, and they commemorated the event by making a wooden effigy of Vairoto a metaphorical sixth *tapere.*

6. Tavaenga (Are-rua had the spear wound)

1. Te-pueu	Are-rua
2. Te-mati-o-Pa'eru	Te-kako
3. Au-ruia	Numangatini
4. Maro	Karo-matangi
5. Te-rupe	Vai-'are
6. Ta'iti	Vaipo

NOTE: The six subdistricts in List 6 were shared equally between Ngati-Tane and the Manaune. In a list given to me by the district chiefs of Veitatei, Keia, and Tavaenga, only Taiti and Maro coincide with the above, and Te-ivi-o-Ru, Rangatira, Te-tuaroa, and Tiroango are given as the names of the other four subdistricts.

TENURE

In addition to the right to land by the original sharing (*tu'anga*), families strengthened their rights by cultivating the field. With the increase of population the irrigation system was developed until all the suitable part of the *puna* lands were terraced into irrigated plots. All members of the tribe held shares, but the leading families acquired larger ones. The lands of the family were administered by the family head. So long as the tribe could maintain occupation, the land allotments of families passed by inheritance.

The frequency of intertribal wars, however, placed an increasing emphasis on individual valor as against hereditary chieftainship. The *puna* lands of the conquered became the sport of the victors, so that with each battle the land ownership changed. Land tenure came to depend on conquest, which obliterated the rights of previous occupation and cultivation. In the redivision of conquered land, the largest shares went to the principal warriors (*toa*). The large landholders today claim the right to their lands through their warrior ancestors.

The loss of their *puna* lands led the conquered (*'ao*) to seek sustenance in the *rau-tuitui* and *rau-tuanu'e* lands. In the course of time it became recognized that the conquered had a right to these inferior lands and that, after peace, the conquerors should not interfere with their occupation of them. Hence, a dominant chief encroaching on the makatea was told by the conquered to return to his *puna* land: "E 'oki ki uta!" (Go back inland!) Similarly, a chief who advanced his cultivations into the narrow valleys of the *rau-tuanu'e* was told to return to the *puna:* "E 'oki ki miri!" (Go back behind you!) Public opinion was with the conquered, and the greedy chief was condemned. The conquered were entitled to the produce of their inferior lands, but they took presents to a dominant chief to ensure his protection. If the conquered tribe regained supremacy, they ceased to be *'ao* and, by securing shares in the rich *puna* lands, they abandoned their previous holdings.

The conquered husband who worked on his wife's land was not subject

to eviction, because the land belonged to his wife. The conquered man who received a portion of taro land from a chief was in a different position. He was a serf to a master who demanded a share of the produce. If the serf annoyed his master, he was summarily evicted. The master notified him verbally or by planting his staff in the taro patch or by commencing to weed the sloping sides of the patch himself. The action denoted that the chief was about to take back his land.

LABOR

The men built the houses, prepared the irrigation patches for taro and maintained them in repair and upkeep, made lines and hooks, nets, and canoes, and used them in procuring the family supplies of fish. They made tools and weapons and defended the family life and lands. The women planted the food, brought it in, did the cooking, including the collection of firewood and leaf covers for the ovens, and made the bark cloth for clothing and bed covers. Sea fishing from canoes occupied a good deal of the men's time, and a fair amount of attention to land crops devolved upon women. Mangaia differed from the other Cook islands, where the men did the cooking and the women had the extra craft of plaiting mats from coconut and pandanus leaves. Yet men assisted in grating coconuts and taro for the special food preparations when extra quantities were required for feasts. The women caught fish within the lagoon by groping with torches at night.

The menial labor in powerful families was done by poor relatives, some of whom were usually members of conquered tribes (*'ao*) occupying the position of serfs for the sake of protection.

For tasks requiring more labor than the family could supply, recourse was had to a working bee (*o'u*). The head of the family sent out an invitation and his own family caught fish, grated coconuts and taro, and prepared a feast for the working guests. On the day appointed the guests did the work and, on its completion, the hosts fed them so liberally that they were able to take food away with them.

For public works within a subdistrict or district, the labor of providing food for the feast fell on the whole community or tribe. An important public work was the digging of a water race to irrigate a system of terraced taro patches. The water race (*matavai*) had to be dug from the main stream (*kauvai*) at some distance up the valley to get the fall, and with the wooden digging sticks considerable labor was involved. As the area to be brought into cultivation was divided amnog a number of families, the labor, too, was shared. Roads over the makatea and steps down the cliffs on either side all involved community labor.

The large houses of chiefs were built by the united efforts of the tribe. Though a tribe was able to attend to its own public works, a social event

was sometimes made by inviting another tribe to do the work. The home people had the pleasure of acting as hosts and the honor associated therewith, factors which never fail to give psychological satisfaction to the innately hospitable Polynesians. The guests enjoyed the outing and subsequent feast. They usually did harder work than they would at home, being stimulated by the desire to make a name for themselves.

The Te Kama tribe made a weeding *o'u* the means of treacherously slaying their guests in order to secure the temporal power (p. 43).

CRAFTSMANSHIP

The skilled craftsman, though he might be neither chief, priest, or warrior, occupied a good social position. His work was sought after and he was paid in food and cloth for his services. In the event of being on the losing side in battle, he could buy protection with the results of his skill. An expert craftsman was termed a *ta'unga,* which is distinct from the term *pi'a atua* used to designate a priest. Experts naturally taught their own children or near relatives, and certain crafts became associated with particular families. The improvements in technical details and art acquired by successive generations were regarded as trade secrets. Their possession was of great economic value to the craftsman and his family. He was not only enabled to exchange his work for food and cloth, but his status was raised by the deference and praise extended to him. He also obtained psychological satisfaction from doing work that he knew to be good. Individual pride extended into family pride in the family craft.

Thus Una, a craftsman skilled in stonework, carving, and sennit work, taught his son Rongo-ariki, who in turn trained his son Rori. At the 24th battle of Maueue, Rongo-ariki, supported by Rori, was on the defeated side. They fled the field to obtain some of the treasures in their home before taking refuge in the makatea. The pursuit was so hot, however, that the father, after handing his son some precious red feathers from Tahiti, stayed behind to delay the enemy and so make good his son's escape. The master craftsman sacrificed his own life not merely through parental affection but that the family knowledge of craftsmanship might, through his son, be transmitted to future generations.

Though skill in the special crafts was theoretically confined to particular families, an outsider could obtain instruction by paying a price. Tangi-toru, a maker of modern ceremonial adzes, stated that a craftsman would even sell the technique of the complicated sennit lashing of ceremonial adzes in order to provide himself with "the means to eat."

All individuals could make houses, canoes, and nets, but it took experts to wind the sennit in the more complicated decorative designs on house rafters and to make the small-meshed *nariki* nets. Adz making, woodwork, and sennit work usually went together. The experts worked as individuals and

never developed the craft guilds that characterized the house and canoe builders and tattooers of Samoa.

The making of adzes required judgment, experience, and skill. The adz maker was thus a *ta'unga* (expert), who enjoyed a position of social and economic importance. Persons requiring tools consulted an expert, and on his consent they procured the stone, fed the expert during the period of work, and paid with presents of food and cloth after the work was completed.

Mamae in a sermon gave an excellent account of the troubles that beset the adz maker (7, p. 17). The rock was washed to remove the dirt and carefully examined for flaws. In spite of care an adz was liable to break from some inner flaw, when the expert exclaimed in disgust, "Tiria atu" (Throw it away). This might occur several times in the making of a set of tools. The end process consisted of light bruising, and the craftsman kept blowing off the fine dust which formed on the surface. Pieces of coral were used to give the whole surface a fine black polish as the final touch of the craftsman's art.

A marked artistic sense was displayed in the hafting, which was of a higher degree of excellence than that attained in any of the other Cook islands or in the Society, Austral, Marquesas, and Tuamotu archipelagos.

The sennit braid used was carefully made in a flat form (*rapa*) and was much narrower than that used in other areas. The braid itself was appreciated as a thing of beauty and worthy of being used as a symbol of the god Tane-kio.

The lashings (*taua*) not only secured the adz heads to the haft but were made in different patterns to produce an artistic effect. Two patterns that seem confined to Mangaia are more complicated in technique and are superior in appearance to any that were used in the neighboring islands, including the Society Islands. The people of the other Cook islands regard the Mangaians as the best workers in sennit, and the local adz lashings certainly confirm that opinion.

A unique feature in Mangaia is the existence of finely polished adz heads lashed to large carved hafts. Some hafts have pyramidal bases supported by short legs and pierced with holes which are reminiscent of the carved emblems of gods and are doubtless derived from them, as maintained by Reed (18, p. 152). Such adzes, according to my Mangaian informants, were made by the Ngati-Tane as symbols of Tane-mata-ariki, the god of wood craftsmen. No information could be obtained as to the exact part they played in religious ritual. They have been referred to as "peace axes," but in the fairly detailed information regarding the official declaration of peace following the installation of the Lord of Mangaia there is no mention of the use

of "peace axes." The drum of peace was sounded and the drums made processions round the island, but no reference occurs as to the use of the adzes symbolic of Tane-mata-ariki. The term "peace axe" must therefore be regarded as a collector's term and should be ruled out of scientific works. The large number of these objects distributed through the museums of the world has given them an exaggerated social importance strangely at variance with the lack of information regarding them in their island of origin. The large number is accounted for by their being attractive to European visitors as "curios" or objects of art. The outside demand stimulated supply and Mangaian carvers made them for foreign trade. As the older experts died out, the craft degenerated, and in recent times adz heads were imported from Rarotonga to be fitted to Mangaian pedestal hafts of inferior make. The last surviving carver on Mangaia has made adz heads of unorthodox shape with a trade grindstone, and even the technique of the correct lashing pattern has been forgotten.

Gill (9, p. 224) states that "the peculiar way in which the natives of Mangaia fasten their axes was originally taught them by the gods." In another place (6, p. 274) he states that the valuable knowledge of the clever Mangaian method of securing ordinary stone axes to wooden handles was introduced by Una from Tahiti. The characteristic Mangaian lashing pattern is not found in Tahiti. It is possible, however, that Una introduced the triple-triangle pattern used on Tahitian adzes and that the later Mangaian craftsmen, in lashing ceremonial adzes, were stimulated by the nature of the object to improve on the secular lashing.

The Mangaian craftsmen applied the motifs used in carving wooden gods to the hafts of the adz symbols of Tane-mata-ariki. The association is obvious and natural. By care and skill in the repetition of simple motifs a high degree of merit must be credited to the craftsmen. I would here stress the fact that ceremonial adzes are peculiar to Mangaia. They were not made on any other of the Cook islands, and the labeling of "Hervey Islands" in so many museums is both vague and erroneous.

Adzes were prized not only as necessary tools but as material property and wealth. With a stock of adzes the conquered could buy life and protection from a powerful chief. The adz maker could create wealth by making sets of adzes and hiding them for future use and trade.

Three famous adzes are mentioned in tradition, Vai-kanee brought from Tahiti by Mataroi, a mottled adz (*toki purepure*) brought from Tahiti by Una, and Akamae brought from Rarotonga by Te-uru-kura. Concerning Te-uru-kura there are no details, but both Mataroi and Una were famous craftsmen. A song refers to Una's adz as follows:

Tapa'ia e 'Una e-.
O te toki purepure o ta'i 'enua
A tua te vao i a Rata,
Ua 'inga te rakau o te mokomoko;
Ka 'ai i a 'iti e-.

Commence cutting, O Una-.
It is the mottled adz of another land
That hewed in the forest with Rata,
The tree of the mokomoko fell;
The ritual was conducted in Tahiti.

Tapa'ia ra e 'una nei e-.
E 'Una nei.
Ua kai Tane-mata-ariki
I te 'anga nei i te raurau,
I te taro mata na Rua-te-'atonga.

Commence cutting, O Una,
O Una who art here.
Tane-of-regal-face eats
Of this food on leaflet platter,
Of uncooked taro offered by Rau-te-atonga.

Te vai 'oki nga tuatua tapau
Te 'akairi ra i a 'Una.
Ua 'inga te rakau o te mokomoko,
Ka 'ai i a 'Iti e-.
Ua kai 'Una i te ro'iro'i.
Ua tateni ma to atua.
Tei Ara'ata ta'au nu, ta'au toki.
I te 'ae'aenga ia Tane
Ua 'ui nga ta'unga, nga toa e

Mai ki a 'Una e-.

The tales which were told follow
Which elevate the fame of Una.
The tree of the mokomoko fell,
The ritual was conducted in Tahiti.
Una has tasted of weariness,
Thou hast rejoiced with thy god.
At Araata marae is thy coconut, thy adz.
At the cutting up of wood [Tane]
The expert craftsmen and warriors assemble
And come to Una.

NOTE: This song refers to the widely known ancestor Rata of canoe-building fame. The word *mokomoko* may mean a lizard or a fabulous reptile associated with the tree felled to build Rata's canoe, but I do not know the particular version quoted. The association of Tane-mata-ariki with woodwork is brought out. Gill (6, p. 274) states that Rua-te-atonga was the name of Rangi's adz that he brought up from the nether Avaiki, but Aiteina maintained that in the above song the name was that of a man in the Ngati-Tane tribe. The social status of Una as a craftsman is indicated by the last lines of the song referring to the craftsmen and warriors assembling to meet him and also to his association with the important Ngariki marae of Araata.

Another reference to the adz from Tahiti occurs in a dirge quoted by Gill (6, p. 274), for which I give my own translation:

Tera Tane-mata-ariki,
Ei koti i te ua ma te ra,
Ei tua i te pa rakau,
E mae ai te toki ia 'Iti.

There is Tane-of-regal-face,
To cut off in rain and sun,
To fell the grove of trees,
By which the adz from Tahiti will become brittle through friction.

NOTE: Gill translated the last line, "They are felled by the Tahitian axe." The rendering takes no account of the idiomatic use of the word *mae,* of which the common meaning is "to become soft and dropping like leaves subject to the heat of a strong sun." As idiomatically applied to adzes, it conveys the idea of the adz edge becoming soft or brittle through the heat generated by the friction in working wood. The word appears in the name of the Rarotongan adz, Akamae (*'aka,* causative prefix). When using the tool, it was usual in Mangaia to stick up a section of banana trunk beside the work. Every now and then the cutting edge of the adz was driven into the soft, damp stump to cool down the heated edge and thus render it less likely to splinter (*nga'a*).

Mataroi, the owner of the adz named Vai-kanee, was a contemporary of Te Rau, the third priest of Motoro. The following genealogy shows the

relative chronological position of the two master craftsmen, Mataroi and Una:

1. Papaaunuku
2. Vara
3. Te Rau — Mataroi, Ue (contemporaries)
4. Pa'eke
5. Akunukunu
6. Mautara — Una (immigrant)
7. Te-uanuku — Rongoariki, m.
8. Motia, f. = Rori, m.

NOTE: Rori, the grandson of Una, married, Motia, the granddaughter of Mautara, thus making Una and Mautara contemporaries, whereas Mataroi was a contemporary of Mautara's great-grandfather.

Gill (9, p. 223) states that carving was the employment of sacred men and that when Rori carved the set of gods for the national godhouse he was believed to have been specially assisted by the gods. When employed on important work, the craftsmen deposited their adzes in the marae overnight and used incantations to give edge and strength to their tools. But though religious observances were kept on particular occasions, the craftsmen as a class were not sacred, as Gill states. During his period of work on the tribal gods, Rori may have been treated with extra respect, but he was not a priest and was no more sacred than any other person of his social grade. Although some of the priests were master craftsmen, their sacred attributes were derived from their priesthood.

HOUSING

During peace the people lived along the banks of the streams in the *puna* lands as near as possible to their cultivations. Individual families had their own groups of houses, which varied in number according to their social importance. Some of the higher chiefs, such as Mautara, kept up an establishment of warriors in attendance. In no district were the dwellings grouped together to form villages.

When war was present or expected, the people deserted their houses and slept at night in secret hiding places in the upper valleys or caves of the makatea to evade surprise attacks. The roofs of the houses fell into disrepair. The thatching of the small houses (*'are ei 'au*) on the various maraes during the peace celebrations was the signal that the people could repair the roofs of their own houses. Once the gods were sheltered, the people could make house shelter for themselves, which would have been unseemly before they were provided for the gods.

The Mangaians were regarded as experts in decorating the principal rafters of the larger houses with various patterns worked with sennit braid.

FOODS

Resources

The staple food of the Mangaians is taro, locally termed *mamio*. The term taro has been diverted to the irrigated patch bounded by four raised edges. In the ordinary diet, the taro was cooked whole (*mamio tao*); for special occasions and feasts three preparations were made, *poke, roroi,* and *poi*. The tender leaves of the taro were cooked as greens. The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), termed *kuara* (cf. Hawaiian, *'uala;* Rarotongan, *kumara*), was the chief food of the conquered in peace times, for it grew in the dry soil of the makatea and the uplands. No special dishes were made of sweet potatoes, and the tubers were brought uncooked to the feasts. Three kinds of yam were cultivated, and a wild species (*'oi*) was utilized in times of scarcity. The plantain (*netu*) and banana (*koka,* not *meika*) and coconut were grown.

Fugitives lived on such fruits and berries as they could find in the vicinity of their shelters. The drupes of the hala (*'ara; Pandanus*) contain small kernels which are extracted by beating (*pao*) the hard outer ends between stones. The fruit of the *nono* (*Morinda citrifolia*), the berries of the *poroiti* (*Solanum*), and the kernels of the *tuitui* (candlenut, *Aleurites*) were also eaten. Two songs published by Gill refer to the misfortunes of the vanquished (12, pp. 183, 121):

Te pao nei i te 'ara,	Beating the hala fruit,
Te kai nei i te nono i te ra'ei.	Eating the nono among the rocks.
E kai eki ua, te mikorau ra,	Eating seeds [?] merely, the green shoots of plants,
Kua pipi vaitorea, ta te 'ao manga ia.	A drink of stream water, these were the foods of the conquered.

Other foods commonly associated with the conquered are as follows: the ti (*Cordyline terminalis*), *i'i* (native chestnut), *pia-maori* (native arrowroot), and *teve,* a species of arrowroot with side tubers termed *karo'e* (Rarotongan, *'unga*). In times of dearth (*tuatau onge*) the conquerors, too, resorted to these foods.

Preparation

Cooking in the earth oven (*umu*) with heated stones and leaf covering was the standard method. The oven had a roof over it which formed the detached cooking house (*'are umu*). The equipment of the kitchen consisted of cooking stones, a wooden pole as a poker, wooden tongs, and a supply of wooden bowls (*uete*). Small bowls were used for family meals. Special preparations were mixed in quantity for feasts in large canoe-shaped bowls. The presence of the large bowl in the kitchen usually denoted a family of

social importance. Coconut graters, stone pounders, and low wooden tables on legs (*papa'ia*) were used in making special food preparations. Receptacles for cooked and uncooked food were plaited from coconut leaves.

The cooking of the underground stem of the ti (*Cordyline terminalis*), a reserve food used in the dry season (July to December) when taro was apt to become scarce, was a community effort by a whole district. A large earth oven was prepared on the appointed day, and the various families consigned their bundles of ti to the communal oven. Each family used some mark to distinguish its bundle; when the oven was opened, each family received its own package. The cooked stems, rich in saccharine material, would keep for some time. In the absence of taro the people also fell back on the mature coconut, which is very rich. The ti counteracted the oily taste of the coconut.

Fish were cooked in leaf packages. As they formed the only flesh food at feasts, a method of preserving a week's catch was devised in order to enable a sufficient supply to be accumulated. Each day's catch was cooked in leaf packages, dried on scaffolds, and recooked every day until the feast was held.

Meals

Meals usually consisted of two. Work in the cultivation and elsewhere was done in the early cool hours of the morning. The day's supply was brought in, and sufficient food cooked for both meals in the late morning. A hot forenoon meal was partaken of and the remainder left cold for the evening. The evening meal was hurried through before sunset to enable the people to seek their refuges while it was light enough to see. This custom is said to date from the period when the Aitu tribe (Ngati-Tane) surprised whole families at their meals and took their heads to fill in the marae of Maputu. Hence the proverb (12, p. 51), "Hasten our meal, or the Aitu will be upon us, bringing terror, chilliness, and death."

The requisites for a comfortable meal are taro, cooked taro leaves (*paka*), fish and sauce (*tai 'akari*). A piece of fish and some *paka* are held together, dipped in the sauce, and conveyed to the mouth. Such a mouthful is known as a *po'ona paka*. The usual beverage in the Keia district was noted for its excellence and is often alluded to as "te vai o Marua."

The simplest meal consists of a taro baked on the embers (*papa paka*) and a draught of water. Among the exploits of the legendary hero Ngaru was his descent to the realm of Miru. Miru, the devourer of souls, prepared an oven. Ngaru asked, "E umu a'a teia e Miru?" (What is this oven for, O Miru?) Miru replied, "E tao i a'au e kai naku." (To cook you as food for me.) Ngaru then spoke as follows:

Kare a Moko i no'o ake e Miru
E umu tangata tana.
No'o ake Moko e Miru,
Papa paka a inu i te vai o Marua,

Tukua kia 'aere.

Not where Moko dwells, O Miru,
Has he an oven for human beings.
Where Moko dwells, O Miru,
A baked taro, a draught of the water of Marua,
And freedom to depart.

NOTE: The last two lines are often quoted as symbolical of hospitality, food, water, and freedom. Moko was the grandfather of Ngaru.

Kava was drunk by the older members of the upper classes, usually at family gatherings or feasts.

At feasts the kava was drunk before the eating commenced. At lesser meetings the food eaten after drinking the kava was termed *'ono*. The word is also used as a verb in the phrase *ei 'ono i te kava* (to form a relish with the kava). The food was usually fish, which included eels. The priest, Tangiia, asked for human flesh as the *'ono* for his kava. After the priest demanded his son, the chief Marere brewed a poisonous draught of kava, *'ora maunga* (*Tephrosia piscatoria*), *'utu* (*Barringtonia*), and *po'utukava* (?), and therewith killed Tangiia.

Kava was drunk by the priests to get into touch with their gods. The green kava root was used and not the dried root, as in Samoa. The root was either grated or chewed, but the chewed kava gave a greater stimulating effect. Kava was not surrounded by the social ceremonial that is characteristic of western Polynesia.

A special meal (*a'i kavere*) was deemed appropriate when learned men (*'are korero*) met to discuss history and traditional lore. The meal takes its name from the *kavere* (fresh-water eel), but other fresh-water fish such as the *tiovi* are appropriate. The host at whose house the meeting is to take place provides the *kavere* and the *a'i* (cooking fire). When my two aged informants had their first meal in my house after a historical session, I informed them that the meal was a modern *a'i kavere*. They took the remark as the compliment which was intended.

FEASTS

Feasts (*takurua*) were given by powerful families or by a whole tribe to celebrate special occasions. The whole family or tribe contributed vegetable foods from their own cultivations. In addition to prepared cooked foods, quantities of taro with leaves and side suckers untouched were contributed. Coconuts were gathered in the bunches adhering to the main flower stem, and various stages of the nuts were placed in separate heaps. The men went fishing beforehand to provide a sufficient number of packages of cooked fish to form the flesh complement of the meal.

For large feasts the food was stacked up in rectangular enclosures (*tui tui-tu*) made of stakes of candlenut (*tuitui*) poles set upright (*tu*). The number of enclosures depended upon the divisions of the guests. A large enclosure was made for each *puna* (district) represented, and others for the high priests of Rongo. In less important feasts, the food was piled on the ground in heaps (*putunga*) with much the same arrangement as in the enclos-

ures, uncooked food below with cooked preparations and fish above. Packages of *poke* took the place of *roroi.*

Public feasts were held on the following occasions:

1. Public meetings to discuss politics during peace (*e tara i te 'au*). A favorite place for such meetings was the marae of Tukituki-mata in the Keia district. The following fragment of a song refers to such meetings:

A pua'ia te tara, e tara i te 'au ra e, — Talk in a circle, talk of the reign,
E ringi toto, e tata ko'e — Of the spilling of blood, of playing the
E taki 'akapira e-. — flute.

2. To celebrate the completion of a *nariki* net. It took an expert some time to complete the fine-meshed *nariki,* which was very valuable. The whole family, with their nearer collateral relations, gave contributions of food, and the expert net maker was paid with food. Ordinary nets were not so honored.
3. Opening a chief's new house.
4. Making a new, or repairing an old, marae.
5. Religious ritual (*karakia* or *kai pure*).
6. Birth feasts. On the occasions when people gathered together to sing the *tauariki* or *mire* songs.
7. Marriage feasts.
8. Death feasts.
9. Installiing an ariki (*'ikianga ariki*). The ariki so installed were the two priests of Rongo and the Rulers of Food. My informants stated that there was no feast at the installation of the Temporal Lord.

Invitations sent out by the hosts were the tip ends of coconut leaves (*'uku kikau*), affixed by a messenger to the walls of the houses of the invited guests.

The sharing of the food is termed *tu'anga,* from *tu'a* (to share). When enclosures (*tuitui-tu*) were not used, the food was laid on sections of banana leaf, each leaf divided into three sections. The whole layout of food was termed *'uku rauaika* (*'uku,* "midrib"; *rauaika,* "banana leaf"). The size of the feast was indicated by the number of banana leaves used. The banana leaf sections were grouped together to form separate allotments which varied with the status of the people for whom they were intended and also with the number who had to share it.

The total quantity of food collected was divided into allotments by the hosts. The family head might delegate the distribution to a member of his family. In a district, one of the subdistrict chiefs was usually appointed by his brother chiefs to superintend such matters. The chief, versed in etiquette, knew the number of allotments to be made, and he indicated to his assistants where the banana leaf sections should be placed and how much of each kind of food should be placed in each allotment. Special allotments were made to the priests of the tribal gods, the ariki priests, the Temporal Lord with the district and subdistrict chiefs, and the people:

1. The tribal priests (*pi'a atua*). If the priests of Motoro, Tane, and Turanga were present, three allotments were made and each share was indicated when the allotments were called. The priests of Motoro took precedence.

2. The ariki priests. Three allotments were made. The Inland High Priest took precedence, the Shore High Priest came next, and the Ruler of Food came last.

3. The Temporal Lord came next to the ariki priests, with one allotment. The district chiefs (*pava*) each had an allotment. The subdistrict chiefs (*kairanga nuku*) of each district were grouped together as the *'ui rangatira,* and each group had an allotment. Each allotment was so arranged that subdistricts (*tapere*) would have an even share of the food provided. After the allotments were called, the subdistrict chiefs of each district divided the allotment into shares corresponding with the number of subdistricts. Each subdistrict chief then divided up his share between himself and the lesser chiefs in his subdistrict.

4. The people. A long, single spread was laid for those without any title or distinction. After the allotment was called, persons of both sexes sat down on either side and ate as at a long table.

Sometimes a district held a feast in which the subdistrict chiefs were given individual allotments, and their titles were called. The share of food was awarded to the title (*tao'anga*) and the *kairanga nuku* had to eat the food himself. It was tapu to him and he could not give any to his wife.

Once a *kairanga nuku* of Veitatei named Ouro took a portion of food home to his wife from a district feast. The district chief was informed of this lapse in custom. At a later feast of a similar nature, Ouro was not awarded a share. Ouro, not knowing of the punishment that awaited him, attended the feast. The Ruler of Food, on seeing him, called out, "Ei miri koe, e Ouro." (Take your place behind, Ouro.) Ouro was thus publicly relegated to the common lot with the mass of the people. The punishment of being publicly shamed was acutely felt and acted as a safeguard to established custom. The act was promulgated in song:

Te ua o te rangi ei miri au e.	The-rain-from-heaven is placed behind.
I karanga Mauria mei kai koe i anga'uru.	Maruia called, "You may eat with the many."
E Ouro 'oki te tu'itu'i i kai rava,	Ouro should have eaten all even to repletion,
Kua rarerare tapiri koe koi'o.	But he took food away and now shrinks against the wall in shame.

NOTE: The-rain-from-heaven referred to Ouro's title as a subdistrict chief; while Maruia was the Ruler of Food.

The allotments having been satisfactorily set out, the official Ruler of Food took charge and called the feast (*nana e tuoro te takurua*). The first call (*tuoro*) was a general one and took the following set form:

Putunga a kai	Allotments of food
Na Ruanuku, na Tangaroa,	For Ruanuku, for Tangaroa,
Na te anau Atea—	For the descendants of Vatea—
E tini—e mano.	(They are) numerous—(they are) myriad.

Note. Ruanuku is a mythological character who had something to do with food from the sea, and the primogeniture of Tangaroa is recognized by calling his name instead of that of Rongo.

The distributor then placated the tribal gods by giving them a small portion such as a single taro, saying,

To taro e Motoro—a kai,	Your taro, O Motoro—eat,
To taro e Tane—a kai,	Your taro, O Tane—eat,
To taro e te pupu kai ai,	Your taro, O host of gods,
Ara—a kai.	There you are—eat.

The Ruler of Food proceeded to call the allotments in the order given. He held a piece of banana leaf (*rauaika*) in his hand and touched the allotment with it as he called the title of the person to whom it was allotted.

The personal name followed by the title might be called. On coming to the district chiefs, the order commenced with the districts on the right from east (head) to west (tail) and then, similarly, with the districts on the left. The chief was referred to as head, body, or tail of the fish of Rongo. Thus, commencing with Parima, chief of Tamarua, the call was, "Na Parima teia, no teta'i pauru o Rongo ia Mangaia nei." (This is for Parima, one of the heads [of the fish] of Rongo in Mangaia here.) The call could be varied by saying, "Na Parima teia, no te pauru o Rongo i katau." (This is for Parima, the head [of the fish] of Rongo on the right.) The allotment of the subdistrict chiefs of Tamarua was called thus, "Na te 'ui rangatira teia, no te pauru o Rongo i katau." (This is for the assembly of chiefs from the head [of the fish] of Rongo on the right.) The other districts were similarly called by designating the part of the fish to which they belonged. The common people, when called, were referred to as the *papa mau tane* (males) and the *papa mau va'ine* (females).

When the allotments had all been allocated, the food was collected in baskets by the various recipients and removed to some convenient place where they could eat. Except under the special rules governing the district feasts, the people, after regaling themselves, took the remainder home.

Protection of Food Supplies

Undue depletion of various foods was corrected by declaring a closed season (*ra'ui*). In ancient times the initiation of this economic safeguard rested with the Ruler of Food (*ariki i te tapora kai*). Since the definite division of the island into six districts, each district has acted independently. The district distributor of food is one of the subdistrict chiefs who has been agreed upon by the district and subdistrict chiefs. The person selected is thus entrusted with the *rauaika* (banana leaf) at feasts and is referred to as the *kairanga nuku tei a ia te rauaika* (subdistrict chief who has the banana leaf). For brevity he is termed the *rauaika*. It is the duty of the *rauaika* to inspect the cultivations within the district and take note of all vegetable food supplies. He also inspects the lagoon within the district boundaries to note whether the catches of fish are getting smaller. Should he think it necessary, he calls the district chief and subdistrict chiefs (*'ui rangatira*) together in council. The matter is discussed, and if a closed season is decided upon the *ra'ui* is promulgated through the district, each *kairanga nuku* taking the word to his own subdistrict. The news spreads from mouth to mouth and the closed season commences on the date given out. The closed season affects the land food supplies (*'enua*) or the sea (*tai*); the two forms of closure are termed *ra'ui 'enua* and *ra'ui tai* respectively.

1. Inland closed season (*ra'ui 'enua*). The closed season on the products of the land, as taro, breadfruit, coconuts, and bananas, was promulgated by two special criers. Each crier was distinguished by a plaited coconut leaf suspended over the back and a leaflet

tied to each arm. The coconut leaf so worn was termed a *tara ra'ui* (notice of a closed season) and was instantly recognized by the people. The criers made a round of the subdistricts, crying the following announcement at the top of their voices as they passed the dwellings:

E ra'ui tapu,	A strict closed season,
E ra'ui taro,	A closed season for taro,
E ra'ui kava	A closed season for kava,
E ra'ui nganangana i.—	A closed season for everything.—
Aore e 'aerea te po,	No going out by night,
Aore e 'aerea te ao,	No going out by day,
Kota'i e 'aere	Only one may go out,
Ko te takave i te tua o te ra'ui.	[He who carries] on his back the sign of the closed season,
Ta'i kikau e topa	Only one coconut leaf may fall,
Na te atua.	That for the god.

The names of the articles of food prohibited may be enumerated, and if all food is not included the fourth line with *nganangana* is omitted. The coconut leaf refers to a coconut which may be used in religious ceremonial and which the priest may drink to quench the thirst of the god.

2. Shore closed season (*ra'ui tai*). In addition to the oral promulgation by the chiefs, long poles with a coconut leaf attached were set up on the beach. Such poles might also be set up on the reef near large pools that were favorite fishing places.

Men were told off as rangers (*tiaki*) to make frequent patrols along the water front. It was stated that in the time of Tereavai, the last Ngati-Vara priest, the *ra'ui* were so rigidly observed that the fish, as if knowing they were safe, were thick in the lagoon pools. Good rangers could tell from the appearance of the pools whether or not fish had been removed. If suspicion was aroused, they went inland to the dwellings to seek the thief. The first test was the examination of the oven sites and smelling the oven stones. If the odor of fish was detected, a search was made in the neighboring middens, rubbish, or wherever soil had been disturbed. The discovery of fresh fish bones convicted the owner of the property on which they were found. He was subjected to considerable abuse, and his hair was cut off. In a community that wore the hair long, the presence of a close crop informed the public that the person had broken the *ra'ui*. To escape the public contempt, the guilty person often went into retirement until his hair grew again.

A song of ridicule applied to breakers of the *ra'ui tai* runs as follows:

Ra'ui tapu na Rua e—.	Sacred closed season of Rua—.
Ua mau te keia.	A thief has been discovered.
Tueru'ia ia mau e,	Pursue that he be caught,
Petepete to tutae.	May thy bowels work with fright.
Ua 'oro e na raro i te tapa 'utu.	He escapes beneath the Barringtonia trees on the shore.
O ta'au reka ia ra	That is thy only satisfaction
Ua riro to upenga	For thy net is confiscated,
E vai'o to kete.	Thy basket of fish is left behind.
Tipaku riri—'aere.	O thing causing anger—go.

When the closed season had lasted long enough to allow the rangers to report that fish were plentiful, the chiefs met again. The close of the *ra'ui,* if agreed on, was publicly promulgated by a crier sounding a shell trumpet or beating a wooden gong as he made the announcement through the inhabited area. The fishing was then open to all and all were assured of a good catch.

The news of the declaration of a closed season in a neighboring district drew attention to a similar need, and district after district followed until

the whole island was declared a *ra'ui*. Even when the need of a district was not so great as that of the district which initiated the movement, it was good policy to follow suit in order to prevent having to exercise hospitality too frequently to people from the closed district. Theft on land and poaching in the sea could also be more readily combated by declaring a closed season.

CLOTHING

Kilts made of ti leaves were worn at dances and festivals as decoration but were not used as ordinary clothing. The clothing for general use was prepared from the bast of the paper mulberry, the breadfruit, and the banyan. The cloth was manufactured by women. The felting process was employed. The cloth made from the three plants had different qualities and different uses. Vegetable dyes, black mud, and coconut oil gave the women plenty of scope in which the vary the types of cloth. The forms of treatment with the resultant types were distinguished by specific names.

Four-sided grooved beaters and a log anvil were necessary parts of an adult woman's equipment in life. Well-made beaters were cherished as valuable property, and in old age or after death the set of beaters and the anvil passed on to daughters by inheritance. Instruction in preparing and dyeing cloth was a necessary part of the growing girl's education.

A loin cloth (*maro*) was worn by men, a kilt (*pareu*) by women, and a poncho (*tiputa*) by both sexes. The *pareu* is advisedly described as a kilt because the lower edge of the garment reached to the knees or only just below them. The poncho, consisting of a strip of cloth with a middle hole for the head, covered the front and back of the body, but the sides were open. The garment was particularly worn by women of rank to protect their bodies from sunburn.

A special thick white cloth (*tikoru*) was evidently made by the priests of the Tongaiti tribe. The ruling Ngariki tribe in the reign of Tuanui wished to destroy the Tongaiti for plotting against them, but Mautara, as priest of Motoro, saved them by decreeing that they should be exiled. Gill (12, p. 132) states:

> The alleged motive for not permitting these Tongans to be slain was, "that the sacred clothing of the gods might not be defiled by human blood," and so draw down vengeance on the ruling race. Pati, priest of the exiled tribe, was the sole depository or maker of the superior paper-mulberry cloth as thick as cardboard, used exclusively for clothing the gods, great chiefs, and priests. This "lordly clothing" was actually worshiped by the tribe that manufactured it, under the name of *te tikoru mataiapo*.

NOTE: Gill uses the term "Tongans" for the Tonga'iti tribe. The term *te tikoru mata'iapo* (the cloth of the first-born) denotes the high status of the cloth. Its exclusive use by high chiefs, priests, and gods led to the restriction of its manufacture to the priestly experts who preserved the secret process from the profane hands of women.

Feather ponchos and headdresses are said to have been made. The feather headdress formed part of the regalia of the high priests of Rongo. They were also made for the favorite daughters of chiefs as an expression of rank. Gill (12, p. 27) relates that fugitives in the makatea whiled away their time by making feather ponchos and headdresses. A survivor, by wearing them, so impressed a chief with his wealth that he was not only able to buy protection but to obtain the chief's daughter in marriage.

Sandals of hau bast were worn for protection against the sharp makatea by visitors to the shore.

CANOES

The single outrigger canoe forms a part of the equipment of every able-bodied man. The fishing canoes are usually small and used by a single person with paddle and without sail. The bluff bow and square-cut stern without an upward projection are post-European changes from the old type which still persists in Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro. The simpler form of the hull and the use of steel adzes render the task of the canoe builder easier than in ancient times. Almost every adult can make a canoe for his own use, but there are always experts who are ready to give advice or assistance as to the shape of the hull or the proper set of the outrigger.

Large canoes of the same build as the fishing canoes are made and owned by families or groups acting as a company. These are used for transporting cargo to and from the trading schooners and steamers which call at the island. The people prefer their own form of vessel to the European whaleboats used elsewhere. The company ownership results from the expense of obtaining suitable hull timber from Rarotonga. The canoes also require a crew. The company shares the expenses, which are beyond the means of a single person, and shares the profits of working the freight.

The old type of canoe made with stone adzes required greater care and skill in its manufacture than the modern vessel. The incentive to develop the highest grade of the canoe-building craft was lacking in Mangaia owing to the rare use made of ocean-going vessels. When a sporadic need arose craftsmen were found to handle the situation, but for everyday life the scope of craftsmanship did not extend beyond the building of fishing canoes. Skilled craftsmen, when requisitioned, could command consideration for their services in food and property.

FISHING

The specific term for fishing is *tautai,* a word also used in a general sense to include methods of obtaining living things as food. Thus *tautai 'enua* (land fishing) denotes methods of catching land crabs and even rats.

Fishing, a necessity and not a sport, was followed by all, with the exception, perhaps, of the sacred high priests of Rongo.

Women fished within the lagoon. They employed groping with the hands among the rocks, short sticks to drive the octopus out of holes at low tide, and hand nets. They were allowed to assist in the community drives by men within the lagoon. At night they could use the torch and hand net within the lagoon. Thus their scope was bounded by the outer edge of the reef.

Men, though using the methods of the women, employed larger hand nets within the lagoon, the flying-fish net outside the reef, and hook and line within the lagoon, on the outer edge of the reef, and in the deep waters beyond. The fishing canoe was restricted to men. All were skilled fishermen, but some excelled through greater knowledge and aptitude.

A person with a set of nets was considered a man of wealth. The wide net (*nariki*), owing to its size and fine mesh, was of the highest value. Dip nets, though handled by one man in the channels, required an assistant to drive the fish toward the net holder. The wider nets with end poles required two holders and others to drive the fish.

For deep-sea fishing an octopus for bait had to be secured outside the reef by diving. Whoever first caught an octopus had to share the tentacles with the other canoes.

Poisoning pools within the lagoon was called *'ora*. Because this method of fishing wastefully killed a number of young fish it was prohibited (*ra'ui*) except at special times designated by the chiefs of the districts. The *'ora* was a social event, a time for laughing and splashing enjoyment:

The whole community shared in collecting and preparing the narcotizing material (crushed stems and roots of the *Tephrosia piscatoria* and grated fruit of the *Barringtonia*). After the pool had been treated and the requisite time for affecting the fish had elapsed, a crowd of men, women, and children dashed into the pool with baskets, dip nets, and, in modern times, spears. Though each person was anxious to secure the greatest number as a mark of skill, the whole catch was heaped together and divided (*tu'a*) into shares for the several coöperating families. Extra or larger fish were added to the shares of families of high rank.

The lore and skill of the fisherman (*makona*) was transmitted from father to son. The *makona* directed those who accompanied him, and disregard of his instructions generally caused a man to fall into some of the small holes that studded the lagoon bottom and cut his legs and feet on the dangerous *unga koa*. The *makona* knew the weather signs and the significance of the direction of the Milky Way. Cold, rain, and storm did not retard him if the nights of the month (*arapo*) were right for certain fish. The *makona* who went out in all weathers received the special designation, *tautai tonga tuatua akau*.

The lie of the Milky Way (*te moe a te Ika*) indicated at what part of the coast the *kuonga* (calm) lay. It was said that the fish followed the *kuonga* to the calm side of the island, and that even the land crabs and rats went around to that side. My informant stated:

Kua kite ratou tei reira te kuonga.
Tei reira te tai meitaki, te tai mate.

They saw that the calm was there.
The favorable tide was there, the dead tide [perfectly calm].

After the *kuonga* was pointed out, all the fishing canoes assembled and lined up on the beach (*paetai*). The hereditary Ruler of Food, who took charge, was referred to as the man with the *tirango moana*. The term seems to refer both to his deep knowledge of weather signs and to his possession of charms representing Mokoiro. Evidently, in addition to coconut leaf charms which he affixed to each canoe of the fleet he had a special technique for his own canoe. Aiteina states that he folded pieces of bark cloth (*autea*) in the form of cones and turned the edges at the base inward into the cone. A cone was termed a *poani* (plug; Rarotongan, *poponi*, "to stop up"), and four were made. One *poani* was pushed under the forward outrigger boom where it was attached to the gunwale on the starboard side (*katea*), the second under the same boom on the port side (*ama*), the third under the bow cover (*tuauru i mua*), and the fourth under the stern cover (*miri vaka*). The description runs:

Nona 'ua te vaka tei rave'ia, tei te karo mai te katoatoa.
Ua tara ratou o eia poani i rave'ia e teia tangata, o nga rua matangi e 'a o te ao nei.

O te aiteanga teia o nga poani e 'a.

Only his canoe was so treated, all the people watched.
They [the old people] said that these plugs used by that man, [were to block up] the wind openings numbering four, of this world.
This is the reason of the four plugs.

Having symbolically plugged the four wind holes of the world, the priest recited the following incantation:

Tirango moana i 'oaia
Ei ueue i te taorangi
E paku te vaka i te 'a'anga.

Ua no'o nga tuarangi takino o te moana.
Ei 'akatere i te pa 'etu,
Tau ai te marama.

The charms of the sea have been made,
To lever up the prop of the heavens,
That the canoes may splash down on the sea terrace.
The spirits beyond the horizon who roughen the sea remain peaceful
To guide the set of the stars
That the moon may remain calm.

The fleet then set out, in full confidence that no rough weather would arise, to fish for *manga* (barracouta) and other deep-sea fish. Should the weather signs indicate a change, the Ruler of Food would give the signal for going in. He stayed outside the reef and checked off the canoes before coming in himself. Sometimes a timid fisherman came in when a shower of rain fell, and without consulting the ruler of the fleet. Such men dropped their supply of stone sinkers and could not readily come out again when the shower passed over. They were laughed at by the others and disparagingly referred to as children. The Ruler of Food did not always go out himself. His place was taken by a skilled weather expert of tried courage who was then referred to as the man with the *tirango moana*.

When the canoes returned to the beach, the leader might call a fisherman's meal (*a'i tara'u*). Each successful fisherman contributed a good-sized fish, and the leader contributed two. These were cooked on the beach and then divided by the leader among all the canoes. The men then feasted on the beach, whether it was night or day. The object of the *a'i tara'u* was not only immediately to refresh the fishermen but also to give their unsuccessful comrades a meal. When the fishermen returned inland to their homes, various other obligations had to be discharged. A fish was set aside for their tribal gods or for Ruaatu, and fish had to be given away as gifts to chiefs or relations. By the *a'i tara'u* the fishermen made sure of one meal of fish.

Gill (9, pp. 102, 103) describes a form of fishing ceremonial connected with preparations for a great feast substantially as follows:

> In addition to the individual canoes, each tribe launched a canoe (*vaka tuarangi*) in honor of its tribal god, in charge of the head of a family. For each of the first two fishing trips the canoes set out at daybreak and returned at midday. An unsuccessful canoe was termed a *vaka kirikiri* (canoe with gravel), as the fisherman could offer only a coral pebble to his tribal god whereas his successful comrades strung the smallest fish of their respective catches and sent them as offerings to the tribal marae. The fish were then cooked on the beach and all the fishermen shared together with their first-born sons (*tama*), in whose honor the first catch was eaten. The next day the catch was eaten in honor of the first-born daughters (*'ine*). After the first-born of the two sexes had been honored, the special restrictions lapsed and the real fishing to provide food for the impending feast commenced on the following night.

Fishermen called upon their own particular family gods for assistance at times while actually fishing. Potai, of evil fame, when he hooked a large shark, called upon his god Veri, as follows: "Ta'i'ia e Veri i te aka aoa i Vaia'u." (Tangle it up, O Veri, like the banyan roots at Vaiau.) Potai lived at Vaia'u, where there was a large banyan tree with innumerable aërial rootlets forming a thick tangle. The call was for the god to tangle the shark up in his line so that it could not escape.

Another fisherman named Tito, whose god was Te-aio, the shark god, hearing Potai, paddled over intending to match his own god against Veri to loosen the fish and catch it on his own line. Potai, suspecting this, called out to him, "Ei te atua 'okota'i, e Tito." (Leave it with the one god, O Tito.) Tito, being a sport, respected the apt saying.

EDUCATION

Children learned by absorbing the cultural atmosphere of the household and by imitating the adults. As they grew older, they were taught the reasons of things. If they departed from the cultural pattern they were admonished and told why certain things were not done. In chiefly families children realized fairly early that they had a family name and prestige to live up to. The boys were taught the arts and crafts by their male relatives, and the

girls were taught the feminine crafts and household duties by members of their own sex. If a boy were attentive and zealous, the father sent him to experts for a higher education.

Secondary or higher education was given to suitable pupils by those well versed in ancient and tribal lore who, for the possession of knowledge well above the average, were termed *'are korero* (houses of talk, storehouses of knowledge). The boy sent by his father took a basket of cooked food for his instructors as a courtesy gesture, not as payment. The old people were punctilious in observing that instruction was not bought. The *'are korero* delighted in imparting knowledge if the pupil, by the attention he evinced, showed that he was worthy of the trouble.

The test of the new student was made by means of the candlenut lights used during the first of the sessions, all of which took place at night and continued until daylight:

> The baked and dry kernels of the candlenuts were strung on the dry midribs of coconut leaflets. The student took some of these with him. When the instruction commenced, the pupil lit the top kernel of one of the torches. He held this upright in his hand while the teacher talked to him across the flame. During the recital, the pupil carefully tended the torch. If he held the torch upright, the first kernel burned upwards and did not ignite the kernel below it until it was almost used up. If the kernel burned too much on one side, he held the torch at an angle to ensure the even consumption of the one kernel. When it burned down he took care that the second kernel was ignited from it before he removed the charred ember of the used kernel. Sometimes this took a little care, and the recital would cease until the next kernel was alight. If by constant care a single torch lasted until daylight, the teachers approved of the student and said that he would be a *tamaiti kai korero* (a youth who consumed instruction). He was deemed worthy of continued instruction. The test of one torch proved that the pupil was so interested that he was able to resist the claims of sleep. Should, however, the youth prove careless and neglectful, the light would spread and more than one kernel would be burning at one time; the first torch would be speedily burned out and then a second and a third. Should three or four torches be used up in the one night's session, it was regarded as an infallible sign of lack of attention and interest in the course of instruction. The student was promptly "ploughed" on his first night's work. His father was informed that the boy would never learn and that further instruction would be wasted on him.

Each adult had an equipment of incantations to bring success in the various activities of life. This was immaterial property of the greatest value and, just as he inherited it from his father, so in turn he transmitted it to his son. The Mangaians believed, as did the Maoris, that if a person imparted all his knowledge he became an empty vessel and nothing was left but to die. The parent, therefore, though he imparted incantations that would help his son during his material lifetime, always reserved one or more of the most powerful incantations to prevent his own too early demise. When he felt death approaching through a fatal illness or had a premonition or omen that he was soon to die in battle or otherwise, he summoned his heir and, as part of his last bequest, he taught him the final incantation. Having done all

that he could for his son in the way of education and fitting him for success in life, he calmly composed himself to meet the death that impended.

GAMES

The most popular games were kite flying, dart throwing, and disc pitching. Sometimes feasts were given in connection with the games. Surfboards (*papa*) were also used. Ngaru, the culture hero who defeated the demons of the lower and upper spirit realms, defeated two sea demons named Tiko-kura and Tumu-ite-are-toka in an eight-day contest on a surfboard (6, pp. 225-226).

Kite Flying

The mythical origin of kite flying is attributed to a competition between Rongo and Tane in the underworld. Rongo had the longer line and thus won. The incident is recorded in a kite song by Koroa (6, p. 124):

Taumoamoa e Tane e na Rongo ʻoki,	A competition of skill by Tane and Rongo also,
Tere manu aitu ki Iva ē.	Flying spirit kites in Iva.

The sport was a chiefly one. The object, as in the original match between the gods, was to see whose kite could fly the highest. Incantations to give success were chanted and songs were composed. Men gave names to their kites and wept with joy when they excelled those of others. The competitors had a feast afterwards in which the greatest share of food went to the winner.

A mythical-historical tale is recorded (12, p. 39) of the two kites of Ake of Atiu, named Mata-ruerue, which broke away and dropped at Mangaia. Akatere-ariki, son of Ake, voyaged down to Mangaia in search of the kites and married Matakore, the daughter of the Te-aio who was Lord of Mangaia.

Dart Throwing

Darts were made from reeds (*kakaʻo*) which grew in the valleys. The throwing ground was termed *taʻua,* and weeds and grass were cleared off the part against which the darts were cast. The player took a short run and cast the dart in a slanting direction against the ground causing it to ricochet and rise on its flight through the air. The longest throw in each case by all the competitors gained a point (*kai*). In team playing, all the darts on one side that outdistanced the longest throw of the other side counted as points.

The general term for a dart was *tao* (spear) and the act of throwing in the particular underhand manner was termed *teka,* as illustrated by the following prayer of Tarauri to his father, the god Tangaroa:

ʻOmai taku tao, ei teka naku,	Send my spear, for me to cast,
Ei teka ki te taʻua.	To cast on the throwing ground.

The general term *tao* became merged in the special term *taka*, and *teka* became both noun and verb.

The first dart throwers on record were Pinga and his seven dwarf sons, who were invisible. Gill (6, p. 118) gives the myth of a competition between these experts and the two fair-haired sons of Tangaroa by Ina-ani-vai.

The younger son Turi was defeated but was later avenged by Tarauri with a magic dart dropped from the skies by Tangaroa in answer to the prayer given above. In Gill's version, the sons of Pinga twice prevented Tarauri from throwing by crowding around him but, perceiving a space between the legs of one of his opponents, Tarauri cast his dart in that direction with unerring aim. The dart struck the ground and rose in the air, where it remained for eight days before it landed. Some of Gill's informants placed the competition in Ukapolu, another land conveniently placed in Avaiki; but the myth states that the magic dart landed at Areuna in the Veitatei district. It is to be presumed that Gill's version, owing to the period at which it was collected, is nearer the original story than the versions now told.

Tangitoru gave me a genealogy in which Turi is not the son of the god Tangaroa but of Oriko in the fifth generation from Tavarenga, who is said to have come in the first canoe named Maukoro-i-te-rangi. The Ngati-Tarauri were a tribe skilled in dart throwing, but they won by cheating.

Turi saw that the cheating by stamping (*taka'i*) and clapping hands (*pokipoki*) was possible because of the flat casting ground which enabled the disturbers to crowd round their opponents. Turi, therefore, built a narrow raised platform of coconut trunks eight deep in his territory and arranged a competition. The Ngati-Tarauri were short people and were well below the platform when Turi cast his dart. The casting ground (*ta'ua*) used by Turi was pointed out to me in the Tamarua district. Turi cast his dart named Vai-te-rangi, and it disappeared over the horizon in a southwesterly direction. Later Turi sailed in search of his dart in the canoe Rangi-matoru and so arrived at New Zealand.

That Turi is made the hero of this story, and Tarauri confused with the family of Pinga, I attribute to the attendance of Tangitoru and a party of Mangaians at the Christchurch exhibition in New Zealand in 1908, where they were in camp with a Maori tribe who were descended from an ancestor named Turi. They were later entertained in their own territory by another tribe descended from Turi. The Mangaian Turi and the New Zealand Turi were topics of conversation and formed a link between the two peoples. Both parties were courteously friendly toward each other and ready to believe that an ancestral link existed between them. The story of the New Zealand Turi was brought back to Mangaia and the local story adapted to fit the identification of two distinct characters who lived in different areas at different times.

In spite of the rationalization, parts of the older story were remembered—for example, the incantation used by the dwarf family of Pinga (*'anau poto-poto a Pinga*) when they obstructed their opponents:

Taka'ia te ta'ua	Stamp on the casting ground
Ia ru te papa i Atea.	To shake the foundations of Atea.
E ma'iti kura i te rangi tapai.	
Ua re ta'i waka—ae, ae.	One tribe has won—yes, yes.

Ua tumatatenga—aitoa, aitoa.

[Our opponents] are weak—serve them right, serve them right.

Maikiniti, maikiniti,
Aitua raua.

Misfortune assail those two [Turi and Tarauri].

Dart throwing was practised by both men and women, but each sex had its own matches which the other could attend but in which they could not take part.

Dart-throwing matches were held to commemorate the death of a favorite child or near relative and were thus a form of ceremonial mourning. After the dart throwing a play was acted, and a feast followed. Both the death drama described on page 196 and the dart throwing were enacted entirely by women. Though in the other Cook Islands girls may have thrown darts for amusement, Mangaia appears to be the only one in which women indulged in organized matches.

Disc Pitching

Wooden discs (*tupe*) were pitched onto a plaited coconut leaflet mat in competitions between two men or two pairs of men.

Sand was placed under the mat (*ta'ua*) to tilt up the far edge, and the mat was pegged down after having been passed through the flame of a fire to render it less slippery. The discs were flat on the under surface and slightly raised to a central point on the upper. A disc that turned upside down (*ka'era*) counted just the same. Two mats were set up about 15 to 20 feet apart, and each player had five discs. The game was to pitch the discs so that they dropped (*paku*) on the mat and slid forward to stop as near the far serrated edge of the mat as possible. When a disc was in scoring position, the opponent pitched to dislodge it by striking it (*tareki*) on the near side and so taking its place. A player with a disc in a scoring position might throw away (*tia*) a remaining disc rather than risk disturbing his previous pitch. Two players pitched alternately and in two pairs. Each pair squatted behind one of the mats and pitched to the other mat. The game was played with a good deal of badinage, and remarks were made to distract and disturb the opponent when pitching. Such distractions were part of the game and not regarded as unsportsmanlike. The game was played a great deal, both by besieging warriors and by refugees in caves.

In the Cook Islands, the game was peculiar to Mangaia. It is present in Samoa, where the discs are made of coconut shell; the number is five and the name *tupe* as in Mangaia. The methods of pitching and scoring are the same, but the mat, made of pandanus leaf, is long and narrow and laid flat on the floor of the house.

JUSTICE

Authority

Authority within the family was exercised by the patrilineal head. In a group of related families occupying a subdistrict, the chief authority was exercised by the subdistrict chief (*kairanga nuku*), who consulted the heads

of families. In the tribal district, the chief authority was vested in the district chief (*pava*) who was the tribal chief unless the tribe was spread over more than one district. The district and subdistrict chiefs formed a council which attended not only to matters affecting land distribution but to all matters covering the welfare and interior economy of the tribe.

In important matters the tribal god was consulted, and his decisions, as made known by his priest, were implicitly obeyed. The tribal priest thus exercised considerable authority on the policy of the tribe. Twice the priests of Motoro saved sections of the Tongaiti tribe from extermination at the hands of the enraged Ngariki by oracular utterances decreeing banishment instead of death.

The behavior of the individual and the group was guided by custom. Established custom acted automatically and usually required no enforcement by might. Customs which were brought into operation on particular occasions, such as closed seasons, were discussed by the chiefs and inaugurated at the time decided upon. So with various activities such as public works, feasts, and war. During the occupation of Mangaia, however, a number of adjustments had to be made which resulted in conflict before they crystallized into established custom.

Public opinion condemned lawbreakers. Such condemnation might lead to loss of prestige and lack of support, but often the culprit's family and even his tribe felt bound to support their kinsman against outside punishment. The individual was responsible for the protection of his property and his honor and he initiated steps to punish an injury. Reprisals commonly depended on the respective status and power of the injured and the culprit. The injured person might call up his family and tribe to his assistance and, if the culprit was of another tribe, the trouble might end in war.

Punishment for infringement of tapus was supposed to be brought about automatically by the gods. The gods sometimes acted slowly and there was a tendency to consider accidents, disasters, and sickness the results of actions long past. Sometimes the gods, if left to themselves, acted not at all. There was commonly a psychological punishment from the knowledge of guilt. Thus Manaune was made mad for a time by the gods because he killed his father. The human upholders of the divine laws were not always content to wait for punishment to come about by supernatural means. When Teaio, Lord of Mangaia, wore the scarlet hibiscus flowers in his ears in the prohibited sacred district of Keia, Mouna, the priest of Tane, killed him by a blow on the head.

Theft

The rights of individual ownership were fully recognized. Members of the same household and close relatives might have the use of things in com-

mon, but in spite of that the real owner was always recognized. A relative might borrow a net or a canoe but he asked the owner for the loan of the article. The taro in the family cultivation and the fruit of trees on family land were the property of the owners of the land. The person taking property that did not belong to him was guilty of theft (*keia*).

The most common object of theft was taro. Refugees hiding in the makatea risked their lives by going down into the taro patches at night. The owners often paid surprise visits at night to their cultivations to protect their property. Sometimes houses built on poles were elevated above a taro patch, and members of the family lived there to guard their property. The uneven distribution of land between the conquerors and the conquered led to considerable thieving on the part of those who had little cultivable land in the *puna* divisions. In addition, a few people seem to have preferred the risk of stealing to the labor of cultivating sufficient supplies for themselves.

The owner of a cultivation dealt summarily with any thief that he caught. If he got a chance, he speared him. One owner is recorded as having speared no less than five thieves, whose corpses he laid out beside his cultivation as a warning to others. Because of the severity of the punishment, it is evident that the thieves were of the conquered tribe or men of no standing and that the landholders, on the other hand, belonged to the tribe in power. Capital punishment under these circumstances could be summarily inflicted without leading to reprisals.

An inveterate taro thief related by marriage to a great chief caused a good deal of trouble within the tribe by his depredations. As killing him might have led to trouble, the owners of the raided cultivations adopted the plan of making the chief responsible for the sins of his kinsmen. They raided the chief's cultivations to make up for the taro stolen, and the chief could not gainsay the justice of the action. He admonished his kinsman without avail. At last, in rage, he tied him hand and foot and thrust him down a deep chasm. The thief was not killed by the fall but managed to loosen his bonds and escape. However, a series of thefts leading to another raid on the chief's cultivation exasperated the chief so much that he slew his kinsman.

An incantation for the success of thieves (*tangata kekeia*) associated with Mata-ia-nuku, Utuutu-roroa, and Avaava-roroa as patron gods or spirits, recorded in full by Gill (6, pp. 150-151), was used by Raoa, the chief of a plundering tribal remnant.

The incantation was intended to cause a prolonged slumber not only to the occupants but even to the house which was to be robbed. After the line, "Tamoe i te au mea katoa" (Cause all things to sleep), the incantation causes sleep individually to the owner, the insects, beetles, earwigs, and ants inhabiting the house. Then the inanimate parts of the house are put to sleep—the grass flooring, supporting posts, ridgepole, rafters, purlins, thatch rafters, eaves, battens, roof ridging, reed walls, and thatch. Naturally, the users of such a thorough soporific were "famous for their success."

Adultery

Although relationships between the unmarried were governed by fewer inhibitions and restrictions than in Western culture, the tapus that applied to married people were equally if not more strict. Adultery was termed *'akaturi,* a term which had a wider connotation but which in ordinary speech held the specific signification.

The punishment of adultery, which was condemned by public opinion, depended on the possibility of its application. A powerful chief might like the wife of a serf or a commoner, and the injured husband would be unable to exact redress. A chief might be so powerful that a weaker chief would deem it expedient not to attempt active reprisal.

Ngauta, Lord of Mangaia, carried on a love affair with the wife of Ngoengoe, son of Akaina. Akaina, who lay sick to death, had been Ngauta's main support (*toko*) in his military campaigns. The injured husband complained to his father, who wept over his son's wrongs and coached his son to restrain his grief for his death and to wait until Ngauta came to pay his respects to his dead comrade-in-arms, when the son was to lie on the body of his father, and, wailing, was to repeat the words, "Ah, the teaching of my father Akaina, I also am from Tonga!" Tonga was the locality in which Ngoengoe and his wife lived. After Akaina's death the plan was duly carried out. Ngauta heard, and after pressing his nose against that of the corpse, he said, "So he is of the tribe of Akaina!" Thus at a time when Ngauta was deeply stirred, he learned that the husband of the woman with whom he was having a liaison was the son of his old comrade. The Lord of Mangaia was shamed before the dead and ceased his attentions to the wife of Ngoengoe.

The usual form of punishment (*'akatea*) was the confiscation of movable goods. The family of the injured husband raided the corespondent's property. All such possessions as bark cloth were confiscated, the taro of the cultivation was dug up, and the fruit trees were denuded. The corespondent was left with a bare hut and bare land. The food supplies were so drastically dealt with that the punishment was keenly felt.

A more severe punishment was the actual confiscation of land. The death penalty was sometimes inflicted if the injured husband felt his tribe strong enough to withstand the war that was bound to follow.

Vaarua, a junior collateral relative of Koroa, Lord of Mangaia, influenced by jealousy of his senior cousin who held more power and a greater number of women attendants, stole one of Koroa's wives. As Koroa was the chief of the district in which Vaarua lived, Koroa drove him out of the district and gave his land to others.

Te-uanuku, while Lord of Mangaia, carried on a liaison with the wife of an Ngariki chief named Raei. Raei could not kill the offender, as they were both worshipers of Motoro, so he intrigued with the Tongaiti tribe for the murder of Te-uanuku.

It is not clear whether injured wives had any customary redress. They seem usually to have vented their wrath in words and returned to the homes of their parents.

In Mangaia, if a fish dropped from the hook once as it was being lifted

out of the water by a fisherman it was merely annoying, but if it dropped more than twice it was a sign of marital infidelity ashore.

Incest

The first recorded instance of incest is that of the god Rongo with his own daughter Tavake, to whose union the Ngariki attribute their origin. It was maintained that cases of mother and son incest had subsequently occurred. It may be that this form of incest was held on a plane with illicit relations between a son and a young stepmother. The same punishment, which consisted of publicly disgracing the offender, was meted out for both offenses. The son's hair was cut off and he was taken from village to village around the island. Again and again, after beating a wooden gong (*pate*) to draw the people together, he publicly announced the crime he had committed, and the people threw filth at him. My informant Aiteina maintained that this procedure was an ancient custom, but the public announcements and the throwing of filth seem foreign to Polynesian psychology.

Murder

The taking of life during a state of war was regarded as a justifiable means for gaining an end, as it is now by civilized peoples. After the drum of peace was sounded, the taking of human life was theoretically prohibited. Exceptions, however, occurred as in other cultures. People were occasionally killed in punishment for theft, for adultery, and for breaking laws or religious prohibitions. Some tribes were liable to be drawn upon for religious purposes. Peace was sometimes ended by the slaying of a human sacrifice to Rongo "to cut the rule" (*kia motu te 'au*) of the party in power.

The killings which took place during a period of peace were termed *ta rikiriki,* or briefly, *tariki.* Both terms mean "little killings," in contrast with the wholesale killing of war (*ta tamaki*). The *tariki* were condemned by public opinion. They disturbed the established rule and led to reprisals which ended in war. Killings which may be regarded as capital punishment for breaking the laws and customs of society were considered justifiable, but the indiscriminate killings due to passion, grudges, and ambition were regarded as murder and *tariki* came to convey that idea. The blood that was shed (*te toto ta'e*) had to be avenged. In the carrying out of punishment, a conflict occurred between right and might. The punishment of the murderer devolved upon the relatives of the murdered person. Theoretically, the relatives of the murderer should offer no opposition to justice. If the family of the murderer was weak and had no status, it was useless for them to withstand a powerful family seeking vengeance; and justice took its course.

If, on the other hand, the positions were reversed, it was equally useless for a weak family to seek redress, and justice lapsed. If both families were powerful, the only recourse was war.

Public opinion, however, held that the blood of the murdered man followed the murderer (*ka aru te toto*) and exercised an evil effect upon his family which might extend to his whole tribe (*kopu*). Some murderers were said to have been discovered through the depletion of their families by natural deaths. The deaths led to inquiries within the family and the tribe and the discovery that a member had been guilty of committing murder. The gradual falling off of the family and the tribe could not be stayed until recompense had been made. The murderer was made known and delivered up to justice, which condemned him to capital punishment. Under such conditions the tribe considered that it was better for one man to die than that deaths in the tribe should continue.

The killing of relatives during peace (*ta atua,* "killing the god") was particularly abhorred. The relatives to whom the *ta atua* applied were evidently paternal relatives who worshiped the same tribal god. The god inflicted a blood curse upon the murderer and his family. Though the blood curse was usually manifested by fatal sicknesses, it also led to depletions by accident and a diminishing of vigor which led to death in battle. The blood curse also applied to the killing of maternal relatives who served other gods. Political aspirants avoided the blood curse by getting members of an outside tribe to commit murders of relatives for them. Potai, of the Ngariki, held the head of his uncle Namu while a member of the Tongaiti tribe struck the fatal blow. Potai did not actually shed his uncle's blood.

If a murderer was condemned by his own people, they refused to fight for him. When the murdered man's tribe came to seek vengeance they formed up in battle array in a formal mnaner, but blows and thrusts were made perfunctorily as a matter of form. Though the murderer's family were behind him, they made no effort to protect him. This is exemplified in the story of the murderer Moerangi (p. 160).

The slaying of relatives in war was not murder. As relatives on opposing sides were in different tribes serving different gods, the blood curse could not strictly operate because the killing was not *ta atua.*

An inconsistency is apparent between attributing the blood curse to the slaying of a worshiper of the same god (*ta atua*) and extending it to any murder (*tariki*). It is evident that the blood curse by a tribal god was instituted for promoting the unity and solidarity of the tribe by prohibiting murders within the tribe. In applying it, however, to blood relatives, the fear of its consequences extended to relatives who had been adopted into other tribes and served other gods. Although such an extension was a

natural expression of close kinship, which was natural during peace, it interfered with tribal solidarity if carried out during war. A special adjustment had to be made which placed the tribal bond before the family tie during war. The extension of the blood curse to include the murder of those not closely related was another adjustment to prevent murders which destroyed peace and ended in war.

WAR

A knowledge of fencing seems to have been part of the equipment of a man of knowledge (*'are korero*). It was a custom at great gathering for a warrior (*toa*) to oppose a noted visitor and try a preliminary bout of arms with him. The orthodox blows and parries were named. Some teachers were skilled in the use of a particular stroke or feint, and ambitious young men of good family sought the favor of their instruction. Unfortunately, the details of Mangaian club fighting were not recorded and information is now scanty. One method attributed to Taumare is remembered because of its historical association:

Taumare taught certain feints at the head so as to draw the opponent's guard upward and then to deliver the real blow at the legs. Similarly, when the guard was drawn downward by feints at the legs, the real blow was delivered at the head. The blow following either series of feints was termed a *torotoro kiore*. He also taught his students to beware of such feints and to be quick in guarding the part that had not been primarily threatened. The guard that met the *torotoro kiore* blow was termed *tata kiore*.

On the death of Akaina the people gathered at the Tukituki-mata marae in Keia where the body lay in state. While awaiting the arrival of the Temporal Lord, the warrior Ngauta, a young man named Te Toe stood out in the path to try a bout of arms with him. Te Toe was another name for Te Ka, a son of Raumea of Ngati-Vara. The more experienced warriors were somewhat incensed that an inexperienced youth should have the audacity to test Ngauta. However, Te Toe had been well taught by Taumare. When Ngauta appeared, Te Toe stood in his way with weapon on guard. Ngauta made a couple of feints to the head and then made the *torotoro kiore* stroke at the legs of Te Toe. To his surprise, the blow was met by the *tata kiore* guard. As Ngauta whirled his weapon upward for another blow, Te Toe sprang forward, grasped the hands, and held the weapon. Ngauta strove to release his hands, but the youth was stronger than the older man. After a moment's struggle, they parted, and Ngauta went on to pay his respects to the dead.

When he came out of the death hut, Ngauta went over to Te Toe and said, "Na'ai 'oki ta'au tata kiore ra e Te Toe?" (From whom did you get the *tata kiore* guard, O Te Toe?) Te Toe replied, "Na Taumare." (From Taumare.) Ngauta said with a smile, "Na'ana 'oki ta'aku." (Mine was also from him.)

The conduct of a youth properly trained in arms was carefully observed in his first battle, and an opinion was formed as to his chances of achieving distinction. It was held that the feet should go forward and never retire. Te Uanuku and Raumea, the sons of Mautara, were taught the finish that made them famous by Te Vake, priest of Tane. In their first battle at Maueue it was seen that they would be great *toa*. They were called "nga

tama a te pu'atea" (the sons of the *puatea* tree) because the tree is firm and cannot retire.

In the myth of the sharing of the possessions material and immaterial by Vatea among his sons, war was given to Tongaiti. Famous warriors were thus alluded to as keepers (*tiaki*) of the house of Tongaiti, as in the following song:

E tu e ara, e tu e ara, e tu e ara,	Stand up arise, stand up arise, stand up arise,
E ara nga tokorua a te papa kura.	Arise the two from the red earth.
Ko ai ma te tiaki i te 'are o Tonga'iti?	Who are the keepers of the house of Tongaiti?
O Te I'o ka ta'i, o Te Vaki ka rua,	Te Io is one, Te Vaki is two,
O Tirango ka toru, o Pa'ia ka 'a,	Tirango is three, Paia is four,
O Te Uuira ka rima, o Rarea ka ono.	Te Uuira is five, Rarea is six.

Note. My informants held that "the two from the red earth" referred to the two types of weapon which a warrior commonly places on the earth as a pillow so that they are quickly available in the event of sudden alarm. The six men named were famous warriors from different tribes and were termed *toa 'uri tumu* (warriors who could turn over the trunks of trees).

The weapons used were alluded to as the *'ata taua na Tonga'iti* (the war scaffold belonging to Tongaiti), the scaffold (*'ata*) being that upon which weapons were kept. These consisted of spears (*okiri*) and clubs (*taiki*) made of ironwood. According to a note in Aiteina's Bible, eight types of club constituted the *'ata taua* of Tongaiti. A staff of ironwood termed a *popo,* used as a walking stick (*tokotoko*), was converted into a weapon in emergency. A wooden spade shaped like an oar was also used as an emergency weapon. Weapons of noted warriors received individual names. That of Ngangati was Te-ara-o-te-iva.

Many of the earlier battles in Mangaian history were surprise attacks and acts of treachery. Later, when the position of Temporal Lordship became established as the fruit of victory, it became customary for the tribe aspiring to power to give some form of notice or declaration of a state of war. The war was confined to the two opposed tribes and their allies. Noncombatant tribes which had become *kopu ika* (tribes furnishing sacrifices) were always likely to be drawn upon for the human sacrifice necessary to proclaim peace.

The tribal god was usually consulted through the priest concerning the methods and prospects of obtaining success. When Kauate asked Mautara how the Ngariki tribe could regain its lost supremacy, Motoro, replying through his priest, stated that Kauate must offer himself up as an *ika tea* sacrifice to Rongo. In the oracular phrase deciding upon war, *"va'i te 'akari a Rongo!"* (Split the coconut of Rongo!) the "coconut" referred to the head of an enemy.

Divination was also resorted to for determining the result of war:

A method conducted by the chief of the war party consisted of placing two *ariri* shells (*Turbo petholatus*) on the tribal marae on the eve of battle with an incantation to his god. The shells representing the two opposing forces were viewed in the morning, and the one that had turned over indicated the party that would suffer defeat. As recorded by Gill (12, p. 34), this method was used by the giant Moke in his war against an invading force from Rarotonga.

Another method was termed *pa te vai* (enclose the water). A large taro leaf was formed into a container by fitting it into a space formed of a square of four short lengths of banana stem. A number of live dragon flies, lizards, and centipedes were dashed into the water after the appropriate incantation. The number drowned indicated the number of warriors to be killed in the impending battle.

A third method consisted of holding a fish hunt in the lagoon, when the number of fish caught represented the number of the enemy that would be slain. (See 12, p. 268.)

A state of war having been announced by a threat, challenge, or the offering of a propitiatory human sacrifice, preparations were made for the decisive battle. In the later period of Mangaian history, the propitiatory sacrifice to Rongo became very important to the party seeking office. Either a victim arbitrarily selected or a victim who offered himself (*ika tea*) was an *ika motu* (severing sacrifice) to sever the rule of the party in power.

A battle was termed *puruki* and a war party, *tutai*. The place of battle (*vai nga'ere, one puruki,* or *ta'ua*) was often selected beforehand and announced by the challenging party. The field on such occasions was weeded and cleared of shrubs and banana trunks to enable the opposing forces to draw up in proper formation.

The force that was first on the field took up its position in extended line about four or five deep. In the front rank were the heads of families, and behind them were other members of the family in order of seniority. The younger sons and sometimes the wives were in the back rows carrying spare weapons and baskets of stones to use as missiles. The father was armed with the longest type of spear or pointed club, whereas the eldest son used a shorter club.

When the second force took the field, they drew up in a similar formation in extended line facing the enemy. Families of the second force would place themselves opposite enemy families against whom they had particular grudges. Each family group or file was termed a *vai tamaki* or simply *vai*. A family, in selecting their position in the line, might ask their head, "Ei ta'ai vai?" (By whose section?) The father would then name the particular family and form up opposite it.

The two opposing lines moved toward each other and halted just close enough to reach each other with the longest club. The battle became a series of hand-to-hand combats between members of the front lines. It was the duty of the eldest son to step forward to his father's right front "to guard the head of the father" (*e tiaki i te upoko o te metua*). This he did by parrying the blows of the enemy with his shorter club. In the family meals, the father divided the cooked fish, giving the eldest son the head of the fish. According to Aiteina, this figuratively represented the father's head which the eldest son protected in war. If the father fell, the eldest son stepped up and took his place with the long spear while the next oldest son stepped up into the supporting position. The relatives at the rear picked up the disabled warriors and bore them off the field. If the eldest son was killed or disabled, the next eldest took his place in the front line, and so the sequence in age and experience was carried on.

Numangatini indicated the age sequence in formations very well in his description of the three battles he had fought (7, p. 149). In his first battle at Teatuapai, he carried a basket of stones to throw at the foe. In his second battle at Rangiura, he fought with a flat wooden sword as a support. In the third battle at Oraeva, he fought in the front rank with a long spear. Sometimes a junior brother forced himself to the front, if dissatisfied with the skill of his senior relative. Under special circumstances military custom could be departed from; a younger brother might displace an unwounded elder brother, and a younger brother refuse to take the place of a wounded elder brother. In one of the minor engagements not recorded as an official battle this is what happened:

> The children of Manini sought revenge against Moerangi, whose family were in position in the opposing force. The Manini family called to their leader, "Ei ta'ai vai!" The expected answer came, "Ei ta Moerangi!" (With Moerangi!) They accordingly placed themselves opposite the section where Moerangi stood at the head of his younger brothers, for Tokoau, their father, was dead. An interchange of thrusts took place until Paia, the youngest of the Manini family, disgusted at the poor showing being made by his senior, came to the front and displaced him. He feinted at Moerangi's head and, as Moerangi's guard went up, drove his spear through his foot and impaled it firmly to the ground. He then taunted his enemy, saying, "E a'a ai to kiri va'a e taitea aina?" (Why are your lips becoming so pale?) Moerangi called for a younger brother to take his place with the words, "E tu ta'i tama a Tokoau i mua!" (Let a son of Tokoau stand up in front!) But the younger brothers, knowing that the murder of Manini might bring the blood curse upon the family unless avenged, declined to move, saying, "Ko to mua 'ua na e te tuakana." (The eldest is in front now, O, eldest brother.)

After the orderly commencement of battle, the combatants moved about more freely. The second line had its chance to engage in hand-to-hand combats, though through it all they were supposed to remember to guard their father's head. The wives often displayed great courage in coming to the assistance of their husbands, beating down the spear points with short clubs and even catching the points in thick cloth. Some women have interposed their own bodies to stop fatal thrusts. It says much for the faithfulness of Mangaian wives that they dared such dangers even against their own tribes, when they were not expected to join in the fighting but to remain in safety at home.

Williams (27, p. 235) records an incident in the last Mangaian battle fought after the advent of Christianity:

> The young chief of a neighboring island, who was present at this conflict, informed me that, while in the heat of the battle, he was greatly annoyed by the fury with which the wife of his antagonist assailed him. He exclaimed, "Woman, desist; I am not come to fight with women." She vociferated in a frantic manner, "If you kill my husband, what must I do?" and immediately threw a stone, which struck him on the head, and felled him to the ground; and had it not been for the prompt assistance of his own people, he would have lost his life by the hands of her husband.

The warriors fought with their patrilineal tribe, and adopted children fought with the tribe into which they had been received. A man might find

himself opposed to his wife's relatives, or even to his own sons who had been adopted into their mother's tribe. It was held that in regular battles (*kako'anga tamaki*) blood relatives on opposite sides could kill one another without such supernatural consequences as occurred in the *tariki* slayings. The shed blood did not bring punishment upon the relatives (*kare e 'a'angi mai te toto ki runga i te 'uanga*), for they were serving different tribal gods and could not be accused of the crime of *ta atua* (killing the god).

Military skill was displayed by some of the leaders. Mautara with an inferior force defeated the Ngariki at Tapatiu by suddenly attacking the center instead of forming up in line opposite a superior force. In a later battle, owing to the signals of the priest Paia, Mautara stationed his small army in a position between the taro patches that prevented a large section of the enemy from being employed against him.

The term *miro* was also used to denote war. A war of extermination was termed a *miro tu'uri karai'i,* signifying that the stones were turned over (*'tu'uri*) to obtain all the land crabs (*karai'i*). A war in which only the leaders were killed was termed a *miro tatemu.* Pangemiro changed his name from Revareva because he became supreme ruler on the first occasion without battle, and his battle or victory was a *miro tu ke* (a different kind of *miro*).

Though all Polynesians delighted in war, the rewards in Mangaia were higher than in any other area. The leader of the successful war party secured the supreme temporal power over the whole island. He could even depose the hereditary high priests of Rongo. His leading warriors secured the positions of chiefs over districts and subdistricts, and the lesser warriors received liberal grants of the best land.

The warrior killed in battle went to the special warrior's paradise, Tiairi, to dance (*'aka*) with his comrades and previous opponents. All others had to face the oven of Miru in the lower Avaiki.

RELIGION

Influence

Religion was inseparably associated with social organization. Dedication to a particular god at the cutting of the navel cord fixed the individual's social group. Important decisions throughout life were influenced by the tribal god consulted through the priest. Change of government and the allocation of office and land had to be inaugurated by human sacrifice and ratified on the marae of Rongo with religious ritual. The religious complex includes the gods with their images and incarnations, religious structures, priests, and offerings, chants, and feasts.

Gods

The gods of Mangaia consisted of the sons of Vatea and Papa, importations from Rarotonga, locally deified ancestors, and vaguely remembered gods from older myths. The god Rongo became the national god of all Mangaia, but each tribe had its own tribal god. In addition there were a number of supernatural beings who appear in song and myth but have no definite place in religious observances. The power of the gods varied directly with the temporal power of the group which acknowledged them.

Of the five sons of Vatea (pp. 15 to 18), Tangaroa, Rongo, and Tane were widely known in Polynesia; Tongaiti was known throughout the Cook Islands, Society Islands, and the Tuamotus; and Tangiia was confined to Rarotonga and Mangaia. Rongo and twelve tribal gods were represented in Mangaia in a national godhouse. Gill (6, p. 19) states that Tangaroa had one almost neglected marae on Mangaia on which the newly formed nuts of young coconut groves were offered. Neither the name nor the site of the marae could be ascertained at the time of my visit.

Rongo, who figures as the god of agriculture in other areas, was the god of war in Mangaia. A memory of the old concept is indicated in the myth (p. 16) in which Rongo's allocation of food was so great that it was trampled under foot. Retention of his original association with the fertility of the land is seen in that parts of the human sacrifice offered to him after a victory were taken to different districts in order that food might grow plenteously during the new reign.

Through the early continuity of the Ngariki supremacy, the offering of a human victim to Rongo by the Ngariki after a victory in battle became a national custom and established Rongo as a national god of war. When the Ngariki were conquered the new victors had to be installed as Temporal Lords on the maraes by the high priests of Rongo, who alone knew the correct ritual. Although Rongo displaced the war god Tu of other Polynesian pantheons, the association of Tu with war is retained in the myth of the combat between Tu-tavake and Tu-kai-taua (p. 20) and references in songs. There can be little doubt that the mythological allocation of material and immaterial property by Vatea (p. 17), when temporal power (*ua mangaia*) was given to Rongo, is a projection backward of the conventional installation of the victor on the marae of Rongo.

Rongo was a god dwelling in the underworld (*atua po*) at the spiritual Auau. After battles he sometimes visited the upper world to feast on the spirits of warriors recently slain, enticing them toward him with a bunch of bananas.

Rongo was first served on the Ivanui marae in the district of Ivanui, probably when Rangi was the sole High Priest before the movement of the Nga-

riki to the western part of the island led to the erection of the inland marae of Akaoro and the shore marae of Orongo, both in the Keia district, and the splitting of the High Priest's office. Rongo was represented by a triton shell trumpet in the godhouse near the inland marae and by two stone images on the shore marae. He does not seem to have had any incarnation. His Inland and Shore High Priests were drawn from his own descendants in the Ngariki tribe.

Rongo has been wrongly identified by Gill (11, p. 27) with Oro of Tahiti and the Leeward Society Islands. In that area Oro (Koro) and Roo (Rongo) are distinct gods.

Tane, under the name Tane-papa-kai (Tane-piler-up-of-food), appears in Mamae's version of the creation myth as the fourth son of Vatea, who gave him the oven (*umu*) and a godship (*atua*). He was not worshiped in Mangaia, however, until immigrants brought the worship of Tane from Tahiti.

The original god Tane has had many attributes attached to his name which in the course of time have come to be regarded as distinct gods. The following attributes of Tane are those given by Gill (12, p. 65):

Tane or Tane-papa-kai	Tane-piler-up- [giver]-of-food
Tane-ngaki-au	Tane-striving-for-power
Tane-kio or Tane-i-te-ata	Tane-the-chirper or Tane-of-the-shadow
Tane-i-te-'utu	Tane-of-the-Barringtonia-tree
Tane-i-te-ke'a	Tane-of-the-sacred-sandstone
Tane-tuki-a-rangi	Tane-the-heaven-striker
Tane-kai-aro	Tane-the-man-eater
Tane-i-te-roa	Tane-the-tall
Tane-maro-uka	Tane-shearer-of-thatch [Tane-of-the-firm-loin-cloth]
Tane-mata-ariki	Tane-of-the-regal-face
Tane-arua-moana	Tane-guardian-of-the-ocean
Tane-ere-tue	Tane-the-storm-wave
Tane-vaerua	Tane-the-spirit
Tane-i-te-i'o	Tane-at-the-core

Some of these names indicate that Tane had more power in Tahiti, the home of the Ngati-Tane, than he subsequently acquired at Mangaia. The name Tane-of-the-sacred-sandstone implies that Tane had to do with the installation of rulers, a function he did not attain in Mangaia. Of the fourteen recorded names, the following four were the only ones carved in ironwood and kept in the national godhouse in Mangaia:

God	Marae	Incarnation
Tane, or Tane-papa-kai		
Tane-ngaki-au	Taumatini Maputu	Birds (*kau'a* and *kerearako*)
Tane-i-te-utu	Marae-teva	Fish (sprats)
Tane-kio	Maungaroa	Sennit work Planets (Venus, Jupiter)

Tane-papa-kai was awarded the highest position of the four, probably for the sake of coincidence with the established Mangaian creation myth. Though an idol was carved to represent him, he had no marae and no incarnation. It appears that he was an academic admission, whereas the other three functioned among the people who brought them from Tahiti.

Tane-ngaki-au was introduced by the first Tahitian immigrants, and his name (Tane-striving-for-power) evidently reflected the attitude of his followers, both in Tahiti and after the arrival in Mangaia.

Tane-i-te-utu was worshiped at Marae-teva in the Tavaenga district. It is probable that a large *Barringtonia* tree grew beside this marae, and the name of Tane-i-te-utu thus indicated the particular marae and the group of Ngati-Tane who erected it. A further distinction followed when Tane-i-te-utu was given a separate incarnation which led to the carving of his image as a separate form.

Tane-kio (Tane-the-chirper) was expelled from Tahiti. (See p. 168.) It is evident that he was added to the Tane group in Mangaia. His worship was continued on the Maungaroa marae which his priest, Ue, had erected. Another name for Tane-kio was Tane-i-te-ata (Tane-in-the-morning), because the morning star, Anui (Venus or Jupiter), was regarded as the eye of Tane.

Tane-mata-ariki, though he had no idol in the godhouse, was represented by an elaborately lashed ceremonial adz.

Tane, though a major god in other areas, was in Mangaia only a tribal god worshiped primarily by the Ngati-Tane. Exactly how far he was worshiped by the Ngati-Vara is uncertain. Some lines from a death chant composed by Tuka of the Ngati-Vara concerning the priest Ue and Tane-kio run as follows (12, p. 66):

Te-rau 'oki to tama ra rire	Te-rau also was thy son,
I ravea'i e Tane nei,	Adopted by [the tribe of] Tane,
Ei ko'atu i Maunga-roa na Ue,	To be a prop at Maunga-roa [built] by Ue,
No Vara nei te pi'a.	The priesthood came through Vara.

Though I reject the association of Papaaunuku with Tane, it is evident that his grandson, Te-rau, was acceptable to the Ngati-Tane, who wished to secure him as a support or prop (*ko'atu,* "stone") to their marae, Maungaroa. The priest hood (*pi'a*) was that of Motoro, to which Te-rau succeeded through his father Vara. Mautara, though officiating as priest of Motoro, worshiped Tane; but his son Te Uanuku could not be murdered by Raei because they were both worshipers of Motoro (p. 63). Rautoa, a prominent chief of the Ngati-Vara, was a worshiper of Tane. Evidently when the Ngati-Vara grew into a tribe some sections continued to worship Tane, but others went over to Te-aio. Both Tane and Te-aio were worshiped on the Ngati-Vara marae of Taku in the Veitatei district.

Gill (6, pp. 107-114) records a myth dealing with Tane's adventures in search of a wife in Ukupolu. In this, the widespread story of Kui-matapo (Kui-the-blind) has been associated with Tane. That Tane marries Ina-who-rivals-the-dawn is reminiscent of the Maori version in which Tane

marries Hine-titama (the Dawn-maiden), but the setting and accessory circumstances differ considerably.

Tongaiti appears as the third son of Vatea in myth and as a tribe in history. The god of the Tongaiti tribe was Turanga, with the alternative name of Matarau. It is evident that a certain idea of identification between the god and the tribe existed. Gill (6, p. 10) states that the visible form of Tongaiti, son of Vatea, was the white and black spotted lizard, and this form of lizard is also the incarnation of Turanga or Matarau.

Tangiia appears as a son of Vatea in Mangaia only. In spite of Gill's warning (6, p. 24) to distinguish the Mangaian mythical Tangiia from the Rarotongan ancestor of the same name, I consider that the early Mangaian myth composers have taken their Tangiia from the deified Rarotongan ancestor. When Motoro, the son of Tangiia, was deified by the Ngariki, the myth revisers remembered that Tangiia the god belonged to an earlier period than Motoro and conveniently made him a son of Vatea, an obvious misplacement. Tangiia became the tribal god of the Tangiia or Kanae tribe, which became exterminated or absorbed. He was worshiped on the Rangitaua marae near Lake Tiriara and was represented by a wooden idol in the national godhouse, but had no incarnation.

Turanga, or Matarau, was not known as an ancestor but appeared ready-created with the advent of the Tongaiti tribe. The name Matarau (Two-hundred-eyes) was taken from the lizard incarnation, which was credited figuratively with an abnormal number of eyes from which nothing could be hidden. The official marae was Au-moana near the present village of Tamarua. A few yards from the marae, in the base of the makatea cliff, was a small cave in which the lizard incarnation dwelt.

A real lizard was supposed to be served there by an appropriate caretaker (*tangata tei tiaki*). At certain times the caretaker went to see (*karo*) Matarau in the cave. He took with him a piece of white bark cloth (*autea*) and two taros cooked on the embers (*tunu*). The cloth was spread out in the cave before Matarau and the taro placed upon it. The caretaker, on retiring, did not turn his back (*kare e 'oki tua*) until he reached the mouth of the cave. This observance was carried on by a surviving family of the Tongaiti for some time after the acceptance of Christianity.

Turanga was the tribal god of the Tongaiti, but when two subtribes budded off from the main tribe they set up their own gods. Just as there was an early clash between the Ngariki and Tongaiti tribes, so there was a similar trouble between their gods, Rongo and Matarau (p. 179).

Presumably the gods represented by carved idols in the national godhouse were worshiped by considerable followings of people. Of the remaining six gods thus represented, Motoro, Te-aio, Teipe, and Te-kuraaki were tribal gods, and Utakea and Kereteki can not be located within any group.

Motoro was the tribal god of the Ngariki. The rule of the Ngariki dur-

ing the early period when customs were taking form firmly established Motoro as the greatest of the tribal gods. Motoro and his priests took precedence over all others except Rongo, and in the godhouse the idol of Motoro stood next to the shell trumpet of Rongo. Without doubt, Motoro is the deified son of Tangiia of Rarotonga. (See p. 31.) Motoro's main marae was Araata in the Keia district. Motoro was known as the *i'o ora* (god of the living) because his followers could not be drawn upon as human sacrifices to Rongo. Motoro was represented by sennit work and the *orongo* plant. His incarnation was the *mo'o* (blackbird).

Te-aio, wrongly spelled "Tiaio" by Gill, was the Mangaian ancestor who defeated the Atiuans (p. 41) and became Temporal Lord. Later, in his pride, he wore some scarlet hibiscus flowers in his ears in the district of Keia where it was distasteful to the gods and consequently forbidden. A dispute took place near the marae of Motoro when Mouna, priest of Tane, slew Te-aio for his disrespect. The blood of Te-aio flowed into the neighboring stream and was drunk by a fresh-water eel. The Ngati-Vara, in later generations, adopted Te-aio as their tribal god. The marae of Mara, in the Keia district close to the place where Te-aio was killed, was built to his service. He was also served by the Ngati-Vara at the Taku marae in Veitatei. Manaune, the adopted son of Mautara, gave allegiance to Te-aio. The Manaune tribe adopted Te-aio as their tribal god. They served him at the Tangiiarakoa marae in Karanga, Arangirea in Tavaenga, and probably others.

Teipe was the god of the Teipe subtribe of the Tongaiti. According to Gill (12, p. 333), he was worshiped at Vaiaua, but my informants stated that Vaiaua is the valley on the east side of the island in which the marae named Ruaiva is situated.

Te-kuraaki is another god of alleged Rarotongan origin introduced by Tui, the Rarotongan to whom Rangi gave the position of first Shore High Priest of Rongo. The god was adopted by the Tui-kura as their tribal god and, though the tribe became extinct, the carved image was preserved in the national godhouse. Gill (12, p. 332) brackets this god with Utakea as regards the marae and incarnation.

Utakea, also of Rarotongan origin, was alleged to be a brother of Motoro (p. 21). This relationship is not borne out by Rarotongan genealogies and must be regarded as fictitious. My informants held that both Te-kuraaki and Utakea were from Atiu, where the names were said to be known. As both of them were said to be worshiped on the marae of Nuvee and to be incarnated in the woodpecker (*tatanga'eo*), it is probable that Utakea was also worshiped by the Tui-kura tribe.

Kereteki, of Rarotongan origin, was another alleged brother of Motoro (p. 21). Gill (12, p. 332) states that he was worshiped at the maraes of

Araata and Tauangaitu. Araata is the main Motoro marae, and Tauangaitu could not be located. Kereteki had no incarnation. Kereteki can not now be associated with a particular tribe, but his idol was cared for in the national godhouse. Aiteina related the following tale to me:

A number of people paid court to a lady by playing their bamboo flutes outside her house. She had barred her door for the purpose of making her selection from the music without seeing the player beforehand. Kereteki appeared in human form and, by playing a tune totally different from the other, intrigued the lady, who opened her door to him.

In addition to the gods represented in the national godhouse, a deified Mangaian ancestor, Vaeruarau, obtained a following for a period. Vaeruarau was the fifth Shore High Priest of Rongo. He supported the Tongaiti Temporal Lord, Ngauta, who later had him killed on his marae, Ariana. Vaeruarau was deified, but because of sickness and death among his followers the god was accused of man-eating. He was deserted, except for a faithful few, some of whom worshiped him until after the advent of Christianity.

Supernatural Beings

Three supernatural beings, not tribal gods, were believed to bring success in fishing:

Rua-tamaine was a female goddess who seemed particularly useful to the Shore High Priest of Rongo when he took up his residence near the marae of Orongo. A large basket was hung up, and all who went fishing in the lagoon placed an offering in the basket to insure success. Cooked taro was the offering of fishermen going down to the sea. A whole fish was placed in the receptacle by the successful fisherman upon his return, and a small coral pebble was placed there by the unsuccessful to prevent his ill-luck from being carried forward.

Ruaatu was represented by some rock to which offerings were made to ensure success in fishing. An informant stated that his marae was Tau-kea, which I took to be a slab or rock of limestone (*kea*) set up as his shrine.

Mokoiro, one of the first three settlers of Mangaia, seems to have been deified. His descendants, as the official Rulers of Food (*ariki-i-te-tapora kai*), were also priests of Mokoiro. It was part of their office to put coconut-leaflet charms on the bow of each canoe in the fishing fleet before it set out for the fishing grounds in the regular season. The charm representing Mokoiro exercised a calming influence over the wind and gave success to the fishing. Both Ruatamaine and Ruaatu were served by individuals without a middle priest, but Mokoiro was the god of the fishing fleet and required a medium.

A number of supernatural beings appear in classical allusions but seem to exercise no definite influence:

Ruanuku, who appears in the official food call (p. 140), is a memory of a widely distributed Ruanuku not to be confounded with Ruanuku, the alleged brother of Motoro, who was not deified like Motoro, Utakea, and Kereteki.

Tu-tavake figures in the first combat on Mangaia in which he slew Tu-kai-taua. Both these names are widespread names of Tu, the war god of other areas. After the mythical combat, however, Tu-tavake returned to the shades. He was not worshiped, but references to him occur in war dirges (12, p. 87): "A kai Tu-tavake i te 'aunga toto." (Tu-tavake inhales the odor of blood.)

Te-makava-tai (The-single-ringlet) was the guardian of the rocks and is also referred to in song (12, p. 207):

Akatapa Vaia'a ko Te-makava-ta'i e!	Vaiaa calls upon Te-makava-tai!
Mei Te-makava-ta'i ra, e na'ea taua ē?	If that is Te-makava-tai, which way shall we two go?

Tumu-te-ove was a minor god of the Manaune tribe.

Veri was mentioned as the god of Potai.

Material Representations

The object selected or created to represent a god acquired a certain amount of tapu from its association in idea and ritual with the god. The material object itself, however, was not worshiped.

Rongo was represented in the national godhouse by a triton shell trumpet which was used by the Inland High Priest of Rongo. The sound of the trumpet was figuratively the voice of Rongo calling the people to some ritual connected with his service.

Tane-kio and Motoro were each represented by a particular form of sennit work originally decided upon by the priests. Tane-kio was represented by finely plaited sennit braid. When he became unpopular in Tahiti his priest Ue hid the sennit braid representation in an empty coconut shell, plugged the aperture securely, and set the vessel adrift in the sea. The vessel landed at Mangaia and Ue followed it there. From the size of a coconut shell opening, it would seem that the representation was merely a piece of braid and not one of the small figures made of sennit braid that are characteristic of some of the Tahitian gods. What form of sennit work represented Motoro is not now known. Motoro was also represented by the *oronga* plant, but the form is not recorded.

Mokoiro was represented on the fishing canoes by a charm made of the end of a coconut leaf. Gill (12, pp. 149, 150) states that the palm frond was secured with finely plaited sennit tied in a bow, one of which he has deposited in the British Museum. In another place (12, p. 31), he states that in the cave of To-uri "is still hidden the god Mokoiro, consisting merely of a small roll of sennit! It had no human likeness whatever, and therefore found no place in the king's idol house." Aiteina stated that the Ruler of Food placed small twisted cones of bark cloth (*autea*) in his own canoe before the fishing fleet set out but gave the coconut leaf representations to the other canoes.

Ruaatu, the fisherman's god, was represented by a rock which served as a shrine for offerings.

Tane-mata-ariki was represented by finely lashed adzes on special carved handles which are unique to Mangaia. Because of the size and shape of the hafts, the hafted adzes could not be used in practical woodwork. They have usually been termed "peace axes," yet they never figured in the peace cere-

monials conducted on the two maraes of Rongo when a new government was installed in office. The present inhabitants are strangely lacking in detailed information regarding their use. Pareina of Tamarua thought they were used ceremonially in connection with the god Tane, as the Ngati-Tane tribe was skilled in making fine sennit braid and the complicated lashings which form a feature of the adzes. In Tahiti Tane was regarded as the god of woodcraft, and fine sennit braid and adzes were associated with him. Gill, in referring to one of the Mangaian forms of Tane, Tane-mata-ariki, states (6, p. 275; 9, p. 224):

> Tane-of-royal-face is the name of the ax god, identified with the clever Mangaian method of securing ordinary stone axes to wooden handles. This valuable knowledge was introduced by Una from Tahiti (or Iti).
>
> A famous god, named Tane-mataariki, i.e., Tane-of-royal-face, was considered to be enshrined in a sacred triple ax, which symbolized the three priestly families on the island, without whose aid the gods could not be acceptably worshiped. Tane-of-royal-face was one of the few much-respected gods not surrendered to missionaries, but hidden in caves. All trace of this interesting relic of heathen antiquity is now lost. The shape of a god-adz differed at the back from those used by artisans in being rounded underneath.

Stolpe (21, p. 106) records that a Mangaian adz in the museum at Chambéry bore an account on the label that the stone itself had belonged to a chief of Tahiti in Cook's time and that "it was, after the owner's death, shafted in this manner that it might be preserved by his family as a remembrance." The cut of a part of the carving (21, p. 146) shows an adz definitely Mangaian, as Stolpe recognized. Yet he accepted the statement on the label and put forth the theory that the adzes were especially connected with ancestor worship and that they were probably the very symbols under which the worship was performed. Motoro, Te-aio, and Vaeruarau were the only human ancestors who were deified in Mangaia. Each was worshiped under his own name and had his own marae, image, and material representation. None of the material representations were hafted adzes. Stolpe's theory is not supported by Mangaian evidence.

Songs and traditions connect the ceremonial adzes with the worship of Tane-mata-ariki and record the introduction from Tahiti of adzes associated with Tane by the Ngati-Tane immigrants, among whom Mataroi (12, p. 58) figured as a maker of adzes and Ue, the priest of Tane-kio, used fine sennit as the symbol of his god. Later Una, the craftsman, came from Tahiti, and his knowledge of carving and of a superior form of lashing was applied to the decoration of adzes used ceremonially as the symbol of Tane. Una married a woman of Mangaia, and their son Rongo-ariki was a worshiper of Teipe. As Teipe was a local god not known in Tahiti, it seems probable that Rongo-ariki was dedicated to his mother's god. His son Rori carved all the gods in the Mangaian godhouse except his own god Teipe. Evidently the fact that

Rori was not a Ngati-Tane did not prevent him from using his craft in the services of Tane.

Images

Though Gill uses the term "idol" throughout his works, he merely expressed the missionary attitude toward such carved representations. Best (1, p. 156) distinguishes between images and idols and says that though the Maori had a few images, "he possessed and worshiped no idols." The same remarks apply equally well to the Mangaians. The images were made in stone and wood.

Rongo was the only god carved in stone. Two images, a large and a small, stood permanently in the shore marae of Orongo. The large image was broken to pieces by the converts to Christianity, and the small image probably shared the same fate. The kind of stone of which the images were made is not recorded.

The principal gods of Mangaia, with the exception of Rongo, were carved in wood and kept in the national godhouse. The original godhouse with the contained gods was accidently burned while Rori was in exile. When Manaune surprised Rori on the beach, he called to him to remain and carve his god for him. The appeal to his craftsman's instincts led Rori to accept, and he ended his long exile by coming under the protection of Manaune. Besides carving Te-aio, the god of Manaune, Rori carved the other principal gods of Mangaia, with the exception of Rongo and his own god, Teipe. Teipe, however, was beautifully carved by Tapaivi, a friend of Rori (12, p. 333). The 12 wooden images or representations in the godhouse were those of Motoro, Tane-papa-kai, Tane-ngaki-au, Tane-i-te-utu, Tane-kio, Te-aio, Te-kuraaki, Utakea, Turanga, Teipe, Kereteki, and Tangiia.

The images carved by Rori were of ironwood and consisted of rude representations of the human form. The image of Motoro was decorated with the red feathers that Rori's grandfather had brought from Tahiti. Rori also obtained some hair from his aunt Mangaia to adorn the head of the image (12, p. 204). The images were wrapped with the special white bark cloth, as thick as cardboard, termed *tikoru mataiapo* (cloth of the first-born), which was manufactured by the priests of Turanga (12, p. 132). After the acceptance of Christianity, the gods were removed from the godhouse and the wrappings were stripped from the gods and thrown into the sea. The denuded images were handed over to Williams and Platt and were eventually deposited in the British Museum (12, p. 334).

In addition to the images of the principal gods in the national godhouse, extra images were kept by the priests in their houses. Keu, priest of Teipe, concealed his son-in-law Namu in the sacred inclosure in his house (12, p. 153).

The deified Vaeruarau was also carved in wood by Rori and deposited in the national godhouse. When he was accused of causing sickness among his followers his image was expelled from the godhouse and hidden among the rocks in Ivirau by some who remained faithful. Secret visits were paid to it as late as 1824 (12, pp. 86-87).

Incarnations

In addition to the inanimate representations, living things were entered by the gods and became their incarnations. Rongo, Tane-papa-kai, Tangaroa, Tangiia, and Kereteki had no incarnations. The incarnations of the other principal gods are here summarized.

God	Incarnation
Motoro	mo'o (blackbird)
Tane-ngaki-au	kau'a and *kerearako* (birds)
Tane-i-te-utu	sprats (fish)
Tane-kio	Venus, Jupiter (planets)
Te-aio	eels, shark
Turanga	black and white-spotted lizards
Teipe	veri (centipede)
Te-kuraaki, Utakea	tatanga'eo (woodpecker)

Though the ancestral pattern is to provide each principal god with one or more incarnations, some of the omissions can be explained. Rongo was a god in the underworld, and the Ngariki tribe took Motoro as their god in the upper world. Tane-papa-kai was the academic Tane, and the Ngati-Tane looked to Tane-ngaki-au, Tane-i-te-utu, and Tane-kio for practical guidance. Tangaroa was also academic and had no actual worshipers. Both Tangiia and Kereteki had no living followers on the arrival of the missionaries, and the absence of incarnations is probably owing to a break in the records.

The primary connection between the god and the incarnation is sometimes recorded in a myth. Stories of the more recently created gods are usually retained. When Te-aio was killed, his blood flowed into a stream and was drunk by an eel. The spirit of Te-aio entered the eel, which, after Te-aio was deified, became his incarnation. The eel went out to sea, came in contact with a shark, and the spirit of Te-aio passed over to the shark. The shark also became an incarnation. This is the mechanism followed in New Zealand, where any fish, reptile, bird, or animal which touches or drinks the blood of an ancestor may become the incarnation of that deified ancestor. Probably primary connections between the other gods and their incarnations existed but have been forgotten.

The incarnation having the power of movement was respected because of its potentiality of information to the followers of the god when the god willed or the followers sought it. Sometimes an individual member of the incarnation species was selected for attention. The lizard in the cave at Au-moana, which became the specific incarnation of Turanga or Matarau, was consulted and its actions and movements interpreted if omens were required. Interpretations were familiar to the worshipers of the god, especially the priests. The natives also respected the fact that the god might be angered by ill-treatment meted out to his incarnation by his followers.

Incarnations, particularly birds, voluntarily conveyed warnings to the follower of the god when his life was in danger. Itieve, a worshiper of Tane-ngaki-au, was being led into an ambuscade by a treacherous companion, Keikeia, when a *kau'a* bird flew above him and screeched. Itieve disregarded the warning and two subsequent ones and was killed. The incident is recorded in song:

Itieve 'oki 'akatopa ake i to atua,	Itieve, answer up to your god,
"O Tane koe e karanga nei?"	"Art thou Tane, now calling?"
Na vaerua i te rangi e,	Spirits in the sky,
Ua tangi e te kau'a.	The kaua has screeched.
O te amo e, te mate kimi'ia e.—	Ah, the lie and the sought death.

NOTE. The lie was that of Keikeia, who had invited Itieve to go to the seashore with him. Under ordinary circumstances, Itieve would have accepted the warning, but he had just committed a sin and was blinded. In the killing of Kanune, high priest of Rongo, a drop of blood had fallen upon a coconut. Itieve had foolishly wiped the blood off and eaten the coconut. In spite of the removal, he had figuratively eaten Kanune's blood (*kua kai i te toto o Kanune*). Owing to the high priest's personal tapu, Itieve was doomed to destruction. His mind was dulled and he could not appreciate the warning of his god's incarnation.

GODHOUSES

The national godhouse, Te-kaiara, interpreted by Gill (12, p. 331) as "The prop-of-the-Kingdom," was a poorly made house of reeds, situated in the Keia district between the inland marae of Rongo (Akaoro) and the marae of Motoro (Araata), which were fairly close together. A caretaker looked after the house, fed the gods, aired them from time to time in the sunlight to prevent the mildew from destroying their garments, and, when necessary, changed the old garments for new. The office of caretaker must have been singularly undenominational, for not only did he care for all gods alike, but he remained neutral during war. Even though tribes became extinct, the caretaker went on caring for their gods. Te-kuraaki, Utakea, Kereteki, and Tangiia were fed and clothed down to the advent of Christianity, though their followers had long since passed away. Vaeruarau was the only god expelled from the godhouse. The gods do not seem to have been taken out to their maraes during religious rituals. Except for Rongo, who dwelt in the under-

world, the spirits of the deified ancestors found a permanent home in the godhouse, whence they issued after sunset and returned before daybreak.

The marae houses (*'are ei 'au,* "house for peace") were in miniature, about 6 feet long, well-thatched with hala, with a small doorway screened with white cloth. They were built on each marae after peace was declared. No images were placed in these houses, but the god was supposed to take up his spiritual residence within, making it an alternative home to the national godhouse. After the gods had been freshly housed after war, the people could build houses for themselves. The term *ei 'au* must not be confused with the Hawaiian name *heiau* (*marae*), for with the written *h* the Mangaian term becomes *ei hau.* The house on each marae was naturally for the tribal god who was worshiped on that particular marae.

Gill (12, p. 235) speaking of Rori, says, "His last great work was to build a temple to Tane, supported by a single post." It was not clear whether the ridgepole or the whole structure of the godhouse was supported by the single post. In New Zealand miniature godhouses supported on a single post were well known, and in Tahiti similar structures were supported by two posts. The Mangaians did build elevated dwelling houses, so it is possible that the house built by Rori was suspended on one post. When the images of the gods were surrendered by the Christianized Mangaians, they completed their change of faith by burning the national and all the marae godhouses.

Each of the tribal priests had a portion of his dwelling divided off with a curtain of thick white cloth (*tikoru*) to form a sanctuary (*pa tikoru*) in which a carved image of the god was kept. This served the priest for ordinary purposes. The marae was reserved for public services. The sanctuary was tapu, but the degree of tapu depended on the status of the priest. The sanctuary of Keu, priest of Teipe, was invaded by a body of armed men when it was discovered that an enemy was concealed in it, but the sanctuary of Mautara, priest of Motoro, remained inviolate even though it was known that Te-vaki was within. By respecting the tapu the tribe increased the power and prestige of the god itself.

The Marae

The stone shrine of Rauatu and the suspended basket of Rua-tamaine were adequate for the limited ritual of individual fishermen. The curtained apartment was also adequate for the individual requirements of the priest and the few who might consult him privately. For public assemblies of the tribe, special gathering places termed maraes were constructed. The marae as a cultural element had been established at a fairly remote period so that one of the first things attended to by an immigrant group was the erection of a marae to their god. To build or repair a marae was termed *a'u.* The stone facing of the boundaries was termed *pa.* The marae was not only necessary

to the worship of a god, but it associated the ancestor or tribe with a particular district and, in a way, established their right to the land. If, however, the tribe was conquered, their marae became a historical landmark and could not in itself reserve the land for the tribe. The older maraes retained some prestige in denoting a more ancient occupation. This prestige, however, dwindled to a merely historical one if the temporal power of those who worshiped there was lost.

Gill (12, pp. 332-333), in his list of gods, gives the names of places where they were worshiped. Williamson (28, vol. 2, p. 43), quoting from Gill, was in doubt as to whether the places named were districts or only villages. They were neither, but were the names of the maraes. Table 17 gives the maraes in each district, together with the god worshiped and the tribe which was served. (See fig. 1.)

I visited each district with the district chiefs on a tour of inspection. Of the 40 maraes named, the sites of only 27 could be located at the time, and their positions are shown approximately in figure 1. Probably some have been omitted from the list. With more time, more sites could have been located. Of the 40 maraes, 25 were associated with tribes or individuals. The list shows the principal maraes of the dominant Ngariki, Ngati-Tane, Tongaiti, Ngati-Vara, and Manaune tribes. Of the maraes not associated with tribes in the list, some belonged to the five tribes mentioned above and the others to the smaller tribes that were merged or became extinct. It is probable that all the maraes in Keia district except Mara belonged to the Ngariki.

Of the 27 maraes seen, only 10 were sufficiently preserved to be measured. The general plan was to form a rectangular court by defining the boundaries with a line of coral rocks embedded in the ground and placed closely together. The interior was then filled in with stones and earth to form a level terrace.

The maraes were used for purposes other than religious, and some were entirely secular. The particular function of most maraes has been forgotten, but a survey of the nine maraes in the Keia district illustrates the diversity of function. The district was occupied by the Ngariki people, and they did not need all the maraes for the service of the tribal god, Motoro. Four of the Keia maraes (Akaoro, Orongo, Araata, and Mara) were definitely religious, and each of the three hereditary priests of the Ngariki was provided with a marae (Akaoro, Orongo, and Rangi-taua):

1, 2. Akaoro and Orongo were national maraes for the service of Rongo, presided over by the two hereditary High Priests of Rongo.

3. Araata was the marae of the tribal god, Motoro.

4. Mara, the marae of Te-aio, was probably set up by Mautara or his successors to the office of priest of Motoro.

5. Mau-tokerau was used for the ceremonial installation of the chiefs of the three Ngariki divisions. In the ceremony they were lifted up on the crossed weapons (*uira-*

Table 17. Maraes

District	Marae	God	Tribe
Tamarua	†*Maungaroa	Tane-kio	Ngati-Tane
	Tonga-anue	Tane-kio	Ngati-Tane
	Te-pou-tai	Tane-tuki-a-rangi	Ngati-Tane
	Iria	Motoro	Ngariki
	Amui	Motoro	Ngariki
	Turaki-atua	Turanga	Tongaiti
	Rangiriri	Turanga	Tongaiti
	†*Aumoana	Turanga	Tongaiti
	Areana	?	(Vaeruarau)
Veitatei	†*Areuna	Te-aio and Tane	Ngati-Vara
	*Taku	Te-aio and Tane	Ngati-Vara
	Tutaki-mata		
	Te-noki		
	Marae-papa		
	Te-ua-rao-o-Vaia		
	Rangi-taua		
Keia	*Mara	Te-aio	Ngati-Vara
	*Araata	Motoro	Ngariki
	*Akaoro	Rongo	(National)
	*Maraeara		
	*Itikau		
	*Mau-tokerau	(For installing Ngariki chiefs)	Ngariki
	†*Rangi-ta'ua		
	†*Tukituki-mata	(For discussions)	
	†*Orongo	Rongo	(National)
Ivirua	†*Ivanui	Rongo	(National, old)
	†*Taumatini	Tane-ngaki-au	Ngati-Tane
	†*Maputu	Tane-ngaki-au	Ngati-Tane
	Ruaiva	Teipe	Teipe
	Marae-teva		
Karanga	*Te-ra-tui-o-Vero	Te-aio	Manaune
	*Are-vaka	Motoro	Manaune, Ngariki
	*Tangiia-rakoa	Te-aio	Manaune
Tavaenga	*Marae-teva	Tane-i-te-utu	Ngati-Tane
	*Maramara-atua		(Mokoiro)
	*Tuaotukutuku		
	*Arakerake		
	*Karora		
	†*Arangirea	Te-aio	Manaune
	*Mau-kiore		
	Vai-kapuarangi		

* Site visited. † Dimensions could be measured.

vananga) of the warriors and placed on a flat, black stone (*toka kerekere*). They were given a drink of water from Vai-o-eve, a spring close to the marae, now dried up.

6. Tukituki-mata was a secular marae at which the learned men (*'are korero*) met to discuss history and ancient lore. A stone seat, with another upright stone forming a back, still remains on the site of this open-air hall of learning.

7. Itikau was a social open air hall at which the drums were sounded: "Tumatuma te pa'u i 'Itikau." (Softly sound the drums on Itikau.)

8. Maraeara was the marae on which the chiefs met to discuss matters concerning the interior economy of the tribe and the problems affecting law and justice. The integrity of the decisions arrived at is indicated by a quotation from a song: "Ko'atu tanu i Marae'ara." (The stone planted at Maraeara.)

9. Rangi-taua was said to be the marae of Mokoiro. It was presided over by the Ruler of Food, who exercised a priestly function.

The maraes were not in everyday use. No need existed for daily placations of the tribal god, as this was attended to by the keeper of the national godhouse. The public occasions for the use of the marae were well spaced in time and in the intervals weeds grew over the marae. Before a public ceremonial, notice was given to weed (*vaere*) the marae. Each marae had its official keeper (*tiaki*) who saw that the marae was kept in order and weeded when required.

Though priests carried out the ceremonial, the chief who built a marae and his heirs after him really owned the marae and his position as the source (*pu*) from which the marae sprung was recognized. The *pu* was supported by a warrior ally who was termed the *toko* (prop). Pangemiro was the *pu* of the two maraes, Te-ra-tui-o-Vero and Are-vaka, in Karanga, and Pokino was his *toko*. Of the Tangiia-rakoa marae it was said that Uarau was the original *pu* and Manini was his *toko*.

Of the arrangement within the marae court, nothing definite is recorded. Though no traces of raised platforms were found, it is evident that a platform of hala wood (6, p. 295) was erected on the Akaoro marae for the human sacrifice. It is referred to in songs as *atarau* (6, p. 299), and the term *kapua* is also used (6, pp. 310, 313). At the Orongo marae the human sacrifice was laid upon a smooth block of sandstone (limestone) in front of the image of Rongo (7, p. 299).

Trees were planted beside the maraes to provide shade. The principal tribes selected a particular tree for their own maraes. The Ngariki took the coral tree, the Tongaiti the *puka tea,* and the Ngati-Vara the *pua* (7, p. 130). One of the maraes had a grove of *tamanu* trees associated with it. In an *eva* dance, the Ivanui marae to Rongo was thus referred to:

'Aore oa te paepae o Rongo e taea,	The platform of Rongo cannot be ascended,
E paepae tuatinitini, tuamanomano,	A platform open to the thousands and to myriads,
Kota'i 'ua e tae	One only can reach it,
O te 'i'iri, o te rarama.	Wisdom and learning.

Another reference to Rongo runs as follows:

A va te ua i ta'aruku	When the rain is heard on the leaves
A tomo a Rongo i roto i tona 'are,	Rongo enters into his house,
E 'are turu ariki.	A house of chiefly prestige.

The oven for cooking food for feasts on the Araata marae was close to the marae. It was named Tiki-rau (Get-leaves), as fresh leaves had to be provided each time it was used.

Priests

In the individual placations of fishermen to Ruaatu and, to some extent, to Rua-tama'ine, no intermediary was required. Success was invoked by individuals for individual effort. If a matter affecting several individuals was involved, the god could be approached only through the proper medium, the priest. The success of a fishing fleet was sought from Mokoiro through his hereditary priest, the Ruler of Food, and the individual Ruaatu procedure was abandoned. The tribal gods could be consulted only through the tribal priests. The pattern procedure dates historically from the local version of the selection of Motoro as the first tribal god in Mangaia:

Motoro, the human being, was drowned at sea, but his spirit reached Mangaia and, entering Papaaunuku, threw him into a frenzy and caused him to utter oracles with a foaming mouth. Papaaunuku became the *pi'a* (receptacle) of the god. This corresponds to the Maori conception of the inspired priest as the *waka* (canoe or vessel) of the god. All the priests of the Mangaian tribal gods were inspired priests who became possessed by the gods when their advice was needed. They were all *pi'a atua*. When Rangi wished Motoro to manifest himself, he consulted Papaaunuku. As the priest worked himself up into the state of possession, Rangi cried, "Ka uru Motoro!" (Motoro enters!) The eyes of the priest became suffused, his face and body twitched, his mouth opened (*'amama*), and finally he spoke the words of the god in a trancelike manner, perhaps with an unnatural voice. The speech was carefully noted by Rangi, for Papaaunuku was supposed to know nothing about it. His own spirit was in a state of complete abeyance while his body was possessed by the god. The speech might be clear-cut and the instructions plain, or it might be incoherent or ambiguous and need an interpretation.

Whatever the form of procedure used by the priests of Tane and Turanga before their advent to Mangaia, it is certain that the form attributed to Motoro became the established pattern for Tane and the other tribal gods. As the god took possession of the priest, the bystanders cried, "Ka uru Tane," or whoever was the god invoked.

By the constant practice of their profession, the priests could readily throw themselves into the state of possession. To make doubly sure, however, they drank a preliminary bowl of kava. The dried kava root used in Samoa and Tonga forms a palatable beverage, but there is not sufficient stimulus in it to initiate the reaction desired by the Mangaian priests. The Mangaian beverage was made from green kava root which was either chewed or grated on a coral slab. To increase the strength of the green root, the mixture was made very thick. The strong drink exercised a physiological effect in suffusing the eyes and face, and it more readily initiated the physical symptoms that demonstrated to the worshipers that the god had taken possession. The prepared kava was drunk by the priest, the god took possession and delivered its dictum, after which the food (*'ono*) was eaten. The cannibal priest of Tangiia demanded human

flesh, *ei 'ono i te kava* (to form the food complement of the kava); if the human flesh was not forthcoming, the worshiper could not get in touch with his god.

The identity between the priests and the gods in matters of tribal policy is self-evident. As the priests had to answer questions on behalf of the gods, they had to exercise diplomacy and sound judgment. When the announcements of the gods were ambiguous or incoherent, they reflected the frame of mind of the priest. The priest begged the question and left it for the chiefs to interpret and take action accordingly.

Ritual

The ritual or ceremonial pattern ranges from the simple ritual of the individual with the fish god Ruaatu to the complex ceremonial to Rongo on the installation of a change of government. The elements of a complex ritual involve offerings and human sacrifices, phrases and incantations, dances, and feasts. Though certain religious dances (*eva*) were performed on the marae at Rarotonga, they do not figure in the marae ceremonial of Mangaia.

Offerings

The gods of Mangaia were jealous gods who were angered by neglect. Offerings of food or some substitute were made to placate them. Neither quantity nor quality was demanded. The mere act of giving something constituted a recognition of the official status of the god and an affirmation of respect. Ill luck resulting from neglect of a god was summed up in the saying, "Ua vare te kete o Rua-tama'ine." (The basket of Rua-tamaine was forgotten.)

In the ceremonial fishing in honor of the first-born sons and daughters, offerings of fish were made to the tribal gods on the tribal marae. As the fish were not eaten by the priests, the successful fishermen selected their smallest fish, strung a strip of hau bark through the gills to make a loop, and hung the offering over a notched or branched stick set up in the marae. The unsuccessful fisherman picked out a coral pebble with a hole through it, strung a strip of bark through it, and hung it up like a fish. Gill (12, p. 65) states that libations of chewed kava root were offered to Tane-arua-moana to send an abundance of sprats.

Part of the duty of the keeper of the national godhouse was to feed the gods daily just before sunset. For this purpose, he made an oven (*umu*) in which he cooked or partly cooked a number of taro. He then took up one in his hand saying, "To taro e Rongo, a kai!" (Your taro, O Rongo, eat!) The taro was then thrown away into the bushes. He offered a taro to Motoro in a similar way and so in turn to all the principal gods in the god-

house. In conclusion, he offered a single taro for all the other gods not represented in the godhouse. The gods were supposed to eat the shadow (*ata*) of the food. The priest, before eating the food and kava taken to him for himself, threw aside a pinch of taro for his god. At all public feasts the gods were fed in the same way as at the godhouse before the allotments were distributed to the people.

When a marae was newly constructed an offering was made to the god. When Ue constructed the Maungaroa marae the only fish he could catch as an offering was a *panako avare* (sprat?), with which he had to be satisfied. The human heads of the Maputa marae were intended not only as fillings but also as offerings to Tane-ngaki-au.

All the tribal gods were satisfied with offerings of food. Rongo alone had to be served with human flesh. As a famous cannibalistic priest of Tangiia required human flesh for his own consumption and not as a sacrifice on the altar of his god, it is evident that the *ika kokoti* (cut-up sacrifice) in the mythical distribution by Vatea to Tangiia, in distinction to the human sacrifices that were offered up whole to Rongo, is probably a projection backwards of the cannibalism of the priest of Tangiia.

Human Sacrifice

Human sacrifice is said to have been inaugurated in the period of Rangi. On the completion of the Ivanui marae to Rongo, Rangi offered a rat on the marae. Rongo turned away his face in displeasure when Rangi visited him in the underworld and would not be satisfied with anything less than a human sacrifice. After the first battle fought on Mangaia against the Tongaiti, Vaioeve of that tribe was offered on the marae as the first human sacrifice to Rongo. The human sacrifice was metaphorically termed *e ika no Rongo* (a fish of Rongo). The following myth indicates that the Tongaiti tribe made some attempt to prevent their slain from being devoted to sacrificial uses. I agree with Gill (6, p. 293) that it is an allegorical account of the theft from the marae of Rongo of a Tongaiti sacrifice by his own tribe and its recovery by members of the Ngariki.

Matarau (Turanga), god of the Tongaiti, heard that Rongo had two *'aku* fish which were kept in a pool below Kaukau. One night Matarau stole the larger of the two fish and conveyed it back to his own marae, Aumoana. Missing the fish, Rongo sent two birds, one of which was the *tanga'eo,* to seek the fish at Aumoana. The messengers confirmed Rongo's suspicions but were unable to recapture the fish owing to the vigilance of Matarau. After some other unsuccessful attempts, Rongo sent yellow butterflies (*pepe rengarenga*), instructing them to settle on the upper surfaces of the sere leaves of a banyan tree that grew beside the marae. When in position, the *moi'o* (whirlwind) was sent to shake down the dead leaves of the banyan. These fell in a dense, swirling mass on the marae and blinded the eyes of Matarau. Under cover of the leaf barrage, the yellow butterflies, also swirling about like yellow leaves, descended and bore the fish away. As they flew away, they sang:

E uru tupu ariki, te 'apai e te 'aku nei nga pepe.

An observance magnifying high chieftainship, this 'aku fish is borne up by the butterflies.

E uru tupu ariki, e ika na Rongo.
E 'apai, e takitaki 'aere.

A high chiefly ritual, the fish of Rongo.
It is raised up, it is borne away.

The early victories of the Ngariki enabled them to continue offering human victims after battle. The Tongaiti, having furnished the first victim, were designated as a sacrifice-providing tribe (*kopu ika*) by the Ngariki, and all the defeated tribes were successively added to the list of *kopu ika*. Of these tribes, the Teipe was particularly drawn upon, especially the family of Maruata. The Ngariki maintained immunity on the grounds that Motoro would not permit his followers to be used as sacrifices. Consequently Motoro was called the *i'o ora* (god of the living) in distinction to the other tribal gods, who were *i'o mate* (god of the dead). Both the Ngati-Vara and the Manaune came into prominence after the *kopu ika* tribes had become designated, and their god Te-aio was not included in the *i'o mate*. The only chance a designated *kopu ika* tribe had of escaping its fate was to seize the temporal power and hold it. No Temporal Lord would consent to the killing of a member of his own tribe as a sacrifice to Rongo. The Teipe tribe were spared after defeat that they might breed and supply victims for future use.

From the early days of Rangi to the period of Mautara, only one human victim was required. The second victim in Mangaian history was Turuia, priest of Tane, who was slain by a war party on their way to attack a party of fishermen. After the battle, the body of Turuia was laid on Rongo's marae as a sacrifice. In the earlier decisive single battles, the victim was taken from the slain. Later, when the temporal power passed out of the hands of the Ngariki, the Ngariki priests of Rongo still had charge of the ritual. The human sacrifice demanded for the installation of the new Temporal Lord before the drum of peace could be sounded was termed the *ika ta mangaia* (the sacrifice killed for the rule), or the *ika 'akatangi pa'u* (the sacrifice enabling the drum of peace to be sounded). As the preparation of the installation ceremony that developed took some time, a fresh victim was not available from the last battlefield. A sacrifice had, therefore, to be selected from among the sacrifice-providing tribes. The selection was made by the victorious leader in consultation with the priests of Rongo.

The priest of Rongo provided a sacred belt to be worn by the warrior selected to slay the victim. The form of the belt is not recorded. Eventually it became established that the victim would not be acceptable to Rongo unless the slayer was invested with the sacred girdle. Just before the advent of Christianity, it appears that the great power of the Ngariki priests of Rongo was encroached upon. The last Temporal Lord, Pangemiro, con-

sulted the priest of his own tribal god regarding the selection of victims for his two installations. Probably this was one of the factors that led the high priest Te-ao to refuse to invest him regularly.

The "peace" victim (*ika 'akatangi pa'u* was distinct from the ordinary victim (*ika motu*) that was sacrificed to bring about success in battle. In the Mangaian language, the victim killed before the battle was *e ika kia motu te 'au* (a fish to sever the rule), whereas the peace victim was *e ika ta mangaia* (a fish to confirm the rule). It was not necessary to consult the high priests of Rongo in the selection of victims before a war, and the slayers of such victims were not usually provided with the sacred belt. Williamson's statement (28, vol. 2, p. 348) that the power of the priests of Rongo was so great that war could not be commenced without their consent is in error because he did not distinguish between the ordinary propitiatory sacrifice and the "peace" victim.

After Mautara's reign, there was a tendency to increase the number of human sacrifices. Makitaka, even for his installation, demanded two victims instead of one; one as food for Papa (*ei ika aua no Papa*), and the other to sound the peace drum (*ei ika 'akatangi pa'u*).

The warrior selected to secure the victim was named at the meeting which nominated the "peace" victim. As he was rewarded with an extra grant of land after the installation, the position was much sought after. He was usually accompanied by a party of warriors who were anxious to pierce the body of the victim with their weapons and thus lay claim to a liberal share in the distribution of lands.

The right of the slayers to a reward in land was so established that the Manaune tribe held a secret meeting to appoint the slayers of Te-ata from among themselves in order that their Ngati-Tane allies would not share in the slaying. Arokapiti of the Ngati-Tane heard of the meeting and, by being present at the slaying, insured for themselves a special allotment of land.

A member of a defeated tribe treacherously slew a woman of the sacrificial family of Maruata to form the official "peace" victim in the hope that the new government to be installed would reward him by allowing him to keep his lands, which were forfeit to the victors. The sacrifice was rejected because the slayer had not been invested with the sacred girdle.

The word *tauma'a,* meaning "food" in some Polynesian dialects, became a ritual expression used in connection with providing the human sacrifice in Mangaia.

As the slayer struck the victim he gave a shout of exultation termed a *tauma'a,* from the use of the word in the phrase, "Tauma'a te ika na Rongo!" (Taumaa the fish of Rongo!) Some warriors used a cry drawing attention to themselves or their families, as in the cry of Ararua as he pierced the body of Te-ata: "Tauma'a o to pare kaute!" (Taumaa of the hibiscus wreath!) Mauria thrust the second spear into the body with a cry referring to Tumu-te-ove, a minor god of his tribe, the Manaune: "Tauma'a rava koe no Tumu-te-'ove!" (You are indeed Taumaa to Tumu-te-ove!)

A decoy (*ve'ive'i* or *ve'i*) assisted the warriors in locating the sacrifice selected.

A number of the decoys were maternal nephews of the victims. They themselves were safe as they belonged to their father's tribe, and they seem to have had little hesitation in delivering their mother's brother to death for the sake of reward. It was usually through a *tama va'ine* relative that men were decoyed away from protection to an ambush. On other occasions, the informer ingratiated himself with the unsuspecting victim and sat up with him at night, eating, drinking, and singing to keep his mind away from fear of danger. He kept the victim awake as long as possible so that when he did succumb the sleep was sound. The decoy then went out and brought the slayers to their victim.

As the slayers often had difficulty in finding the nominated victim, it became an established custom to reward the decoy with a share of land. This led to treacherous conduct on the part of friends or relations of prospective victims (12, pp. 36-44).

After a decisive battle the fugitives hid themselves until the drum of peace sounded. In addition to the tribe actually defeated, members of other tribes liable to human sacrifice and not actively allied with the victors, remained on the alert. At the slightest suspicion of danger, they hid themselves in the rocks. Those who had a powerful protector (*'are rau maru,* "well-thatched house that does not leak") took care to remain on their premises. A powerful chief named Vaangaru (9, p. 229) gave up his dependents and even a secondary wife to the slayers, which caused his old mother to say, "E pa kikau nga'enga'e koe, e ta'u ariki." (Thou art a defense of loosely thatched coconut leaves, O my chief.)

The slain victim was sometimes carried on the spears thrust through his body for a distance, but a wooden litter (*amo*) was usually provided. The body was carried to the Akaoro marae, where it remained on a scaffold of hala wood for some time. From the hala (*'ara*) scaffold, the dead victim was termed *pange-'ara* (cast on the hala). The Akaoro marae was referred to as *te marae e poa ai te 'enua* (the marae which causes a stench in the land). After the Inland High Priest of Rongo had performed the ceremonies, he caught up the victim in a sennit scoop net with large meshes, thus figuratively catching a fish. The victim was called an *ika ka'a* (fish caught in sennit). The "fish" was carried in the net to the Orongo marae on the coast. Here it was laid on the block of limestone before the stone image of Rongo. After the appropriate incantations, the ears were cut off, divided into slices, placed on leaves, and distributed among the district and subdistrict chiefs. The right ear was distributed among the chiefs on the right division of the island, and the left ear among the chiefs of the left division. In a death chant for Maruata of the Teipe tribe composed by Koroa, the following words occur:

Pikao rauti ra	Wrapped in ti leaves,
I te taringa kotikoti	The cut-up ears
O Maruata ia 'oto'ia.	Of Mautara announce new possessions.

The nose was divided among the two High Priests of Rongo, the Ruler of Food, and the beater of the drum of peace.

After the drum of peace had been beaten around the island, the Shore High Priest, by means of the net, cast the decayed corpse into the bushes at

the back of the marae, there being no refuse pit within the precincts of the marae. The corpse was then termed *te ika 'au'au na Papa* (the decayed fish of Papa), in memory of the mythological account in which Papa, in order that she might have the surplus, procured the greater share of food to Rongo. The net was then wrapped around the larger stone image of Rongo and left there to decay. No more interest was taken in the corpse, and the skulls were not collected to decorate the marae as was the custom in Tahiti.

A third form of human sacrifice was termed the *ika tea* (white fish.) Its origin is attributed to the first historical battle in which a man from each of the divisions of Ngariki fell before victory was secured. This led to the idea that the blood of one of the party desiring victory must first be shed as a sacrifice to Rongo before victory could be gained.

Three outstanding examples of this supreme sacrifice, which involves the voluntary consent of the individual, are recorded in history. The first is that of Tiroa, priest of Tane, who, after being selected in conference, voluntarily went out among the enemy to be slain in order that Panako might gain supremacy (p. 49). The second was the Ngariki chief Kauate, who obeyed the will of Motoro as revealed by his priest Mautara, and sought death that his tribe might regain the supremacy from the Tongaiti (p. 52). The third and most striking was that of the warrior Arokapiti, who voluntarily took the place of his deserting brother, to turn the tide of battle which was going against his party.

The *ika tea* had to be some one of high rank. The selection was made by the chiefs of the party in council or by the priest of the tribal god. The person so dedicated to Rongo went out and was killed by the enemy, who were not aware of the significance of the killing. Like the other propitiatory sacrifice, the *iku tea* was intended to sever the existing rule (*kia motu te 'au*). It was made only under desperate conditions and such a stirring self-surrender provided the extra confidence that a desperate party needed.

Although a human sacrifice was always due to Rongo, apparently a similar sacrifice was not considered out-of-place to Motoro. Motoro decreed through Mautara that the first-born sons of the Ngariki families were to be offered in sacrifice to insure the favor of the tribal god. The mother of the Ngariki warrior Potai accounted for his failure to secure the temporal power thus: "Aru toa oti koe e ta'u ariki, 'are a'au 'angaingai ia Motoro." (Though you have sought success in battle, O my chief, yet you have never fed Motoro.)

Incantations

Offerings to the gods were accompanied by appropriate words. With the minor gods, it was sufficient to say, "Teia ta'au, e Rua'atu." (Here is your share, O Ruaatu.) A similar simplicity accompanied the feeding of the gods at the national godhouse or before a feast: "Here is your food, eat." The phrase announced to the god that he was not neglected. For the public ceremonial on the marae, incantations had been composed by the priests in ancient

days and were transmitted in set form to their successors. The rhythmic chants by the priest formed part of his stock-in-trade, and the set words were valuable immaterial property. When the chants ceased to be of value with the change of religion, they ceased to be taught and consequently were not transmitted to the present generation. Gill, however, obtained two incantations from Numangatini, the last priest of Rongo. One chanted on the marae of Akaoro, after referring to the victim sacrificed to Rongo, contains the following verse, translated somewhat differently by Gill (6, p. 296):

Ka tupu o te toa,	The ironwood tree shall grow,
Ka rito o te toa,	The ironwood tree shall sprout,
Ka rara o te toa,	The ironwood tree shall branch,
Ka kokoti o te toa,	The ironwood tree shall be felled,
Ka ʻera o te toa,	The ironwood tree shall be divided,
Ka maikuku o te toa,	The ironwood tree shall be wedged,
Ka ngaʻa o te toa.	The ironwood tree shall be split open.

The ironwood tree was split open to make weapons for the warriors. The incantation was repeated later on the marae of Orongo and included a part dealing with the division of lands.

The second incantation was chanted at Orongo, when the drum of peace was sounded (6, p. 299); it is quoted with alterations in the translation:

SOLO

ʻAkiʻakia Maruata ʻikitia taku atarau.	Maruata has been selected and lifted onto my altar.
Iaia ia vaerea te tarutaru ʻenua	Through him are cleared the weeds of the land
O ʻAvaiki mai raro e	Of Avaiki from below.

DRUMS AND VOICES

Tei mā ia, rangi mā ia, rangi vaerea,	Clear, the clear sky, the weeded sky (cloudless),
Tei mā ia, rangi ma ia, rangi vaerea,	Clear, the clear sky, the weeded sky (cloudless),
Vaerea taʻi taru vaerea.	Weed out a weed, weed out.
Vaerea, vaerea i to makita, makita.	Weed, weed out . . .
Makitaria kitaria, kua rangi riri ē.	(Sound of the drum.)

NOTE: The evils of war are referred to as weeds (*taru*) which are weeded out (*vaerea*) by the offering of the human offering on the marae. A play is made on the word *makita*, as it fits in well with the beating of the drums. The chant, commenced at Orongo, was repeated on all the maraes during the circuit of the island.

The incantations were called *karakia* and the process of reciting was *ʻai karakia* (Maori, *whai korero*). The high priests must have had a large number of incantations, for it is said of Rauue, an Inland High Priest of Rongo, that once while officiating on the marae, the people said, "E ʻai koe e Rau e tae atu te ra i runga ia Tavaʻi-kura." (O Rau, chant until the sun rests on Tavai-kura.)

Religious Feasts

Religious feasts (*kai pure*) were sometimes held on the marae. The commoners brought food and, after depositing it on the marae, retired to a distance. Only the people in authority (*aronga mana*) had the privilege of sharing the feast on the marae. At Orongo those who were to share in the feast divested themselves of their ordinary attire at Puritia at the top of the makatea cliff where the track descended to the marae. Here they put on special white tapa cloth. It is related that two young men, Titiro and Naonao, went to a *kai pure* feast but received no share of food. Evidently the shares in the feast were for selected persons. On the return of Titiro and Naonao to their home at Tonga in the Veitatei district, the following song (*pe'e*) was composed:

E tapu te pure i Orongo,
E kore au e tu'a'ia o te raurau.
Tei Tonga 'oki na tangata
O Titiro o Naonao,
Ua kapiti'ia o Ngere.

Ngerengere i'o i te pure,
Na'ai 'oki te mangaika i kai?

The service at Orongo is sacred,
I would not receive a food platter.
At Tonga are people
Named To-look-on and To-reach-for,
Who have been bracketed with Passed-over.
Passed over in the service,
Who then ate of the food?

Peace Drum

The drum (*pa'u*) sounded to announce the end of war was made of a section of hollowed-out tree trunk with a wide section of shark skin stretched over one end. It resembled the temple drums used in the other Cook Islands, the Society Islands, and Hawaii. The official drum beater held a hereditary office which was recognized by awarding him a share of the nose of the human sacrifice, and a reward of land went with it. He was assisted by members of his family, who, in the peace ceremonials, beat smaller drums. The sound was evoked by beating with the hands. The sounds were supposed to convey to the fugitives words offering freedom for cramped limbs:

Ti-o, ti-o; nanue, nanue;
Tareki ta, tareki ta,
Tareki ta'i vaevae,
Tareki ta.

(Rhythm)
Stretch out, stretch out,
Stretch out a leg,
Stretch out.

When the procession around the island ended, a spear was thrust through the shark skin cover of the big drum and it was hidden away in a cave. A new drum had to be made for the installation of each Temporal Lord.

Regalia

The priests and leading chiefs wore the special white *tikoru* bark cloth on the marae, probably made into loin cloths and ponchos. The high priests of Rongo and the priests of the tribal gods were entitled to wear feather headdresses. The warriors wore their best, which would include any forms of ornament they had.

Ablutions

Bathing in fresh water to remove perspiration and dirt from labor on land and salt from fishing in lagoon or sea was part of the personal routine of the population. For those who came into close association with the gods, ablutions of a purificatory nature formed part of the religious routine. In the ordinary avocations of life, the individual was *noa*, or free from a special state of religious tapu. During religious ritual, the people on the marae were impregnated with the tapu of the marae. The officiating priest was particularly tapu because the god entered his body. On the marae of Orongo, the Temporal Lord of Mangaia approached the high priest of Rongo on all fours, but, off the marae, he might have him killed.

Theoretically the passage from the state of *noa* to that of tapu was accomplished by ablutions which removed material taint. This applied particularly to the priests, but evidently it was sufficient for the others to change their clothes. Each tribal marae had its ablution pool or spring which was regarded as tapu for the use of the tribal priests. Each of the national maraes of Rongo had its pool; that connected with Orongo was the fresh-water stream of Vairorongo and that with Akaoro was Marua. Although it is probable that the high priests bathed in these pools before changing their clothes on all ritual occasions, the purificatory ablutions were particularly necessary before the installations of the new high priests.

Theoretically again, the passage from the state of tapu to that of *noa* was accomplished by ablutions to remove the tapu of the marae and the close association with the gods in order that individuals could mix with their fellows and resume the ordinary conditions of life. In Tongareva (25, p. 90) the ablutions after the marae ceremony were a fixed part of the ritual. In Mangaia, it was evidently enough for the majority to resume their ordinary clothes. The association of the sacred priests with the gods had been so intimate, however, that ablutions were necessary. This is referred to in a chant concerning the Orongo marae (6, p. 31):

Mariu te tapu o Motoro,	Remove the tapu of Motoro,
Te taka ra i Vairorongo	[By] bathing in Vairorongo stream,
I te koukouanga vai ē.	In the fresh-water bathing place.

Note: Gill translates the last line, "'Twas there his spirit landed," but *koukouanga* is a poetical form of *kaukauanga* (a bathing place), and *vai* always means "fresh water" as contrasted with *tai*, "salt water."

A form of religious ablution was used in adult adoption by the mother's tribe for politic reasons. The adopted person bathed in the sacred pool of his mother's tribe to purify him from the taint of his father's god and tribe.

SICKNESS AND MAGIC

Injuries received from weapons were generally regarded as the result of an evident, normal cause. In sickness and disease, however, the cause was attributed to supernormal agencies. As in New Zealand and probably all Polynesia, the causes of a departure from normal health were attributed to punishment by the gods for breaking religious prohibitions and to black magic exercised by a sorcerer. In making a diagnosis, the religious cause was investigated first. The relatives and patient were usually aware what restriction had been broken and often made the diagnosis before the sickness commenced. Sometimes, however, the patient hid the cause. Sickness among members of the same family led to careful investigation which revealed that a member of the family had been guilty of murder. The family were suffering from a blood curse. Even wounds and death in battle were not always free from suspicion. When a person had incurred the displeasure of the gods, his death, whether by weapon or by accident, was due to divine punishment.

If all reasons for divine punishment had been eliminated, the only cause for sickness was black magic. Weakness, shortness of breath, and a diminishing agility and skill in battle even were attributed to the spells of sorcerers. Relatives were always suspicious of causes of death and ready to blame some enemy.

With such a theory of disease, it was natural that relief should be sought by propitiating the gods through the tribal priest rather than by investigating the healing properties of herbs. The range of remedies was limited to the use of coconut cream as a purgative, and of a few herbs for diarrhea, cuts, and wounds. Massage was employed for fatigue, stiffness, and the relief of pain. Fractures were treated with splints made of strips of coconut leaf midrib, and certain families were supposed to have acquired skill which was transmitted by teaching. The relatives of the patient, however, generally sought out the priest with presents of kava and food. The god was consulted as to the course of the sickness. A favorable prognosis was expressed by the phrase, "Ka 'aere ki te ra 'iti." (He will go to the rising sun). A fatal prognosis was metaphorically alluded to as "Kua rau ti para." (He is as a dry ti leaf.)

The sorcerer who used incantations (*pure*) to lesser gods to bring about death was termed a *tangata purepure* (a person who uses *pure*). In New Zealand, the term *tohunga* is applied to priests, craftsmen, and sorcerers with qualifying words; but in Mangaia, the equivalent term *taunga* is restricted to craftsmen, and *tangata purepure* distinguishes the evil sorcerer from the priest (*pi'a atua*). The sorcerer experiences an expansion of his ego from the fear in which he is held, and his business is a lucrative one. Clients secure his services by paying him with food and goods to remove an enemy or to ex-

pedite a love affair. Gill (11, p. 22), records the procedure to dispose of the husband of a pretty woman who is desired by the client of a sorcerer.

> The expanded flower of a *Gardenia* was stuck upright—a very difficult performance—in a cup (i.e., half a large coconut shell) of water. A prayer was then offered for the husband's speedy death, the sorcerer earnestly watching the flower. Should it fall, the incantation was successful. But if the flower still remained upright, he would live. The sorcerer would in that case try his skill another day, with perhaps better success. Old natives assert that these enchantments, if persevered in, never failed; but that since the prevalence of Christianity they have all become impotent.

In Mangaia, I could not obtain definite information whether contagious black magic had ever been in use. In the absence of references to precautions in Mangaian narratives, it may be presumed that black magic was confined to the imitative or sympathetic forms.

Sorcery was practised by both sexes. The incantations and procedure that had been acquired by a particular sorcerer were handed on as immaterial property. A sorcerer taught his nearest male relative, either a son or a nephew, and a sorceress transmitted her knowledge to a daughter or niece. Both sorcerers and sorceresses have been killed in revenge by the relatives of those believed to have been done to death by them.

A form of beneficent or white magic is evident in the procedure concerning the disposal of the child's dried umbilical cord. The sinking of the cord in a shell container in deep sea water to confer a sound wind and fearlessness on the sea comes under Frazer's category of contagious magic. A child so treated was probably considered immune from the machinations of a sorcerer who tried to change the direction of the wind while he was out fishing. Children, as they grew up, were told by their parents what had been done for them, and the knowledge gave them confidence in meeting the difficulties of adult life.

Each individual knew a number of magical incantations, used without the mediation of priests and sorcerers, which he recited to produce growth of the food crops, favorable winds for fishing, success to fishing nets and hooks and line, and success in expeditions even of a thieving nature. Incantations were used in games to make the kite fly higher or the throwing dart outdistance others. Warriors had incantations to give edge and point to their weapons, strength and skill to their arms, and through them, victory over their opponents. Some incantations called upon the family god, but others were reliable because of the magic potency acquired by the words themselves.

DEATH

Mournings

According to the Mangaian view, the only natural deaths except the few due to senility were those resulting from traumatic violence in peace or war.

All others were caused by supernatural agents, either as punishment by the gods or as black magic.

After death, the corpse was laid out in state by the relatives. The whole district assisted in providing food for the mourners. A messenger was sent around the island to announce the death in each district. This he did by yelling the war shout of "Iē-kō-kō" to draw attention. Then followed the announcement, "Ua mata — —." (— — is dead.) The relatives, in whatever district they were, gathered presents of bark cloth and hurried off to the house of the deceased. Here they laid the presents before the corpse and, with the family in immediate attendance, wept loudly over the dead. The corpse was covered with the best cloth.

A special mourning garment consisting of bark cloth steeped in taro-patch mud and termed *pakoko* was used by the relatives. Gill (6, p. 181) states that the cloth was dyed red in the sap of the candlenut tree and then soaked in the mud, which gave the cloth an odor representing the putrefaction of death. The relatives cut off their long hair, blackened their faces and bodies with charcoal, and cut their skin with shark's teeth to draw blood. The common fern singed with fire to give it a red appearance was worn in wreaths of mourning on the head. The use of the mourning wreath is also present in New Zealand.

A peculiar custom consisting of a series of sham fights (*ta i te mauri*) was indulged in.

The district of the deceased was termed the *mauri,* which Gill (6, p. 268) translates "ghosts." The *mauri* in New Zealand is regarded as the life principle of man and refers to his spiritual essence as contrasted with his material body. In Mangaia, the term has a similar meaning. On the morning after the death the young men of the district armed themselves and set off for the next district arrayed as if for battle. They found the young men of that district drawn up in battle formation, but instead of regarding them as enemies they termed them *'aka'oa* (acting as friends). A war dance was performed and the two parties engaged in a sham battle with blows and parries as if in earnest. The two parties then joined forces and "attacked" the next district. The districts combined, and so, in turn, the various districts were "attacked," each district joining to pass on to the next. The circuit of the island was completed, and the accumulated force arrived back at the district of the deceased, where they partook of a feast that had been prepared. The circuit of the island was completed in one day and the *'aka'oa* forces returned to their own homes before nightfall. The leader of the first party, no doubt a relative of the deceased, carried the end of a coconut leaf (*'iku kikau*) bound over his abdomen in the same manner as the corpse.

Gill regarded the battles as signifying that the ghosts in each district were well thrashed. It appears to me that the leader carrying the coconut leaf represented the deceased, and that each sham fight was intended to dispose of the life principle (*ta i te mauri*) of the deceased in order that it would not return to evilly affect the inhabitants of the district. The battles were so realistic that they were termed "a younger brother of war" (*e teina no te*

puruki). The procedure affected the *mauri,* but the *vaerua* (spirit) was not destroyed.

The war parties returned to their homes, but the relatives continued their mourning for a number of days, depending on the status of the deceased. No work except in providing the food for the mourners was allowed. Any woman not closely related who wished to beat cloth had to go to another district. Gill (6, p. 182) states that the object was to avoid giving offence to Mueu, a female denizen of Avaiki, who had introduced cloth-beating into the world. The sound of her beater was associated with death. When a person died, a proverb was quoted: "Era kua tangi te tutunga a Mueu." (The cloth anvil of Mueu is sounding.)

The presents of cloth that were brought to the funeral were divided among the guests. Care was taken in the distribution that guests and relatives did not receive their own back again. It was a point of honor that outside visitors and distant relatives should receive the best, and the nearer relatives usually went without any. Presents touching the corpse had to be buried with him, as they were placed on the body as a shroud.

The corpse was anointed with coconut oil and wrapped in layers of cloth. It was usually disposed of within the day after death. Some were buried in shallow pits dug in the earth, and people of note were sometimes interred within the precincts of a tribal marae. The following song records the wish of Te Rangai of Ngati-Tane in his old age to die upon the Marae of Maungaroa:

Apui ra i te 'inangaro o taka 'are,	Desire grew in [the person] confined to the house,
Ia ta'aviri ua totoro 'aere i nunga Maungaroa.	To twist and crawl on hands and knees to Maungaroa.
Kave atu te a'o ia tae tikai i te a'u marae,	The breath lasted long enough to reach the raised marae
I 'akamate ai koe.	That thou desired so grealty.

When Te Rangai crawled onto the marae, he beat his hands upon the earth and before expiring cried, "Ai a! A tae 'oki i te rua poro!" (Ah! the desired sepulcher has been reached!)

Noted chiefs and priests were sometimes exposed on the tribal marae for some hours and then removed to the tribal burial cave or chasm. Gill (11, p. 23) states:

> If the body were buried in the earth, the face was invariably laid downwards, chin and knees meeting, and the limbs well secured with strongest sennit cord. A thin covering of earth was laid over the corpse, and large heavy stones were piled over the grave. The intention was to render it impossible for the dead to rise up and injure the living. The head of the buried corpse was always turned to the rising sun, in accordance with their ancient solar worship.

I could get no evidence of ancient solar worship, and the statement is probably an inference on the part of Gill. The lashing of the corpse in the bent-knees position shows the existence of a distinctive form of burial. Most of the bodies, however, were cast down into deep clefts that rendered them safe from interference by enemies. Others were hidden in secret caves. The different tribes had their own chasms and caves which were named, as Auraka, Raupa. According to Gill, numbers were buried in caves easily accessible to enable relatives to visit the remains from time to time. The corpse was occasionally exposed to the sun, rubbed with oil, and then wrapped up in fresh cloth. Such corpses, if duly treated for about a month, were preserved through dessication. The removal of the intestines for the purpose of embalming was not practiced.

The reason for secreting corpses, especially of successful warriors, was that enemies wished to avenge themselves for past injuries even after death. The body, if secured, was burned; but the subtle revenge of using the bones for fishhooks was evidently not indulged in.

Some of the personal belongings of the deceased were buried with the corpse. A woman might have a cloth beater laid beside her, and a man a stone adz or a shell ornament. Some articles were tapu and were never again brought into use by the relatives. Unless the articles were disturbed in position, they would give confirmatory evidence in the sexing of skeletons.

In New Zealand, the last food or drink partaken of by the deceased was regarded as the provision (*o*) for the journey of the spirit. In Mangaia, food for the spirit journey was placed with the corpse.

After disposal of the corpse, mature coconuts were opened and the water poured out on the ground. The nuts, usually five, wrapped in leaves and native cloth, were thrown toward the cave or down the chasm with the invitation for the deceased to eat. After the last nut and some taro preparation had been thrown, the mourners left the corpse.

The origin of the custom is attributed to Veetini, the first person to die a natural death. After his death his father Tueva, his mother Manga, and his sister Tiki sought his spirit in various parts of the coast of Mangaia. At last, on the east side at sunrise, they saw the spirit of Veetini coming to them from the east. He had been freed from the underworld of Avaiki to instruct mortals to make food offerings to the dead. Gill (6, p. 187) quotes a song composed by Kirikovi as follows:

Tueva 'aka'itu i te eva i te metua.
Ae; "E a'a to'ou ara i te ao nei?"

"I anamai au i te kave
I te pakūranga mate meringa,
Meringa mai 'Avaiki e,
Meringa mai i o tatou metua
E no'o i te ao nei."

Tueva seven times lamented as a father.
Yes; "What is your path [cause] to this world?"
"I came to bring
Death offerings and instructions,
Instructions from Avaiki,
Instructions thence to our fathers
Who live in this world.'

Death Songs and Dances

In the period of mourning immediately following death, dirges were sung during the lamentations, and probably dances in addition to the war dances of the sham fights were indulged in. In the later period of Mangaian history, certain customs were expanded and elaborated. Not only were death dirges elaborated in number and character, but special tribal gatherings to do honor to the dead were held some months after the death. The death recitals were organized by powerful chiefs in honor of a favorite son or daughter or some other close relative or friend who had died. They were marked by fresh exhibitions of grief and by dirges specially composed for the occasion and rehearsed by soloists and choruses. The more ancient songs, as Gill states (12, p. 96), have long become a literary curiosity among the Mangaians themselves. It was during the rule of the Ngati-Vara, particularly from the period of Potiki, that poetry reached its highest development. The most prolific Ngati-Vara poet was the warrior lord of Mangaia, Koroa.

A date for the recital was selected that gave time for his family and tribe to prepare food for a feast. It also gave time for the composition of special dirges and for rehearsals.

The death celebrations took three definite forms, but were all collectively termed *eva.* The term *eva* was applied specifically to dirges accompanied by dances. The other two types were the death talks and the special dirges and acting which followed a dart-throwing competition.

Death Talks

Death talks (*tara kakai*) consisted of a recital of as many as thirty dirges composed for the occasion. The recitals took place at night in large, specially constructed houses well lighted with candlenut torches.

The songs were historical and not only referred to incidents concerning the life and manner of death of the deceased, but also contained allusions to traditional history and myth, including references to the journey of the spirit to its future home. The solo part in each song had to be sung by a close relative of the deceased. If he could not compose his own song, he had to pay a poet to compose one for him. Gill (6, p. 270) states that Koroa composed no less than ten songs for one recital. The songs were divided into two classes, the *tangi* and the *tiau,* which were rendered alternately in the recital.

The *tangi* was so called because on its conclusion the entire assembly burst into tears and wept loudly over the death commemorated and reawakened in memory by the *tangi* dirge. A near relative took the solo part, and the chorus came in at intervals. There was no accompaniment with

musical instruments, as the appropriate music was the massed crying at the end. Gill (6, p. 270) states that the *tangi* dirges invariably began with the words "Tio ra —" (Sing we —).

The *tiau* (a slight shower of rain) was so named as a contrast to the heavy shower of weeping that accompanied the *tangi* dirge. The *tiau,* like the *tangi,* consisted of a number of alternate parts for the solo and the chorus. The soloist, again a near relative of the deceased, commenced the dirge. When the chorus took up their part, the soloist wept loudly until the end of the chorus part. As the chorus ceased, the soloist again took up his part and so alternately to the end of the dirge. Thus the "slight shower" was provided by the tears of the soloist, who was chief mourner. A harmonica, a wooden gong (*ka'ara*), and a shark-skin drum (*pa'u*) accompanied the chorus in the *tiau* dirges and were also used between the different songs. The poets welcomed the opportunity of displaying their skill and their wide knowledge of history and myth.

The death talk concerning a person, say Puvai, was alluded to as *te kakai ia Puvai* (the death talk concerning Puvai). Each song was divided into a number of stanzas termed in their respective order *tumu* (introduction or cause), *papa* (foundation), and *inuinu* (offshoot). The *inuinu* usually consisted of an *inuinu ta'i* (first offshoot) and an *inuinu rua* (second offshoot), but sometimes a third and a fourth (*'a*) were added. The orthodox solo commencement, "Tio ra" is shown in the *tangi* for Maruata of the Teipe, who was killed as a human sacrifice to Rongo. "Tio ra, tinoa'ia Maruata e!" (Sing we of Maruata slain for sacrifice!)

Gill (6, p. 271) records that if a chief of the same tribe died within a year or two of a death talk, the old recital might be repeated with the addition of a few new songs. Such a recital was termed *veru* (secondhand).

Funeral Eva

The funeral *eva* was termed *eva tapara* from the blackening (*tapara*) of the faces of the performers with charcoal. The hair was shaved, the skin cut to draw blood, and evil-smelling cloth (*pakoko*) dipped in mud was worn. This reproduced the procedure of the relatives immediately after the death of the deceased and during the actual funeral.

An *eva* given by Gill (6, pp. 281, 283) was composed by the chief Koroneu for his son Atiroa, who died of disease. Koroneu was so incensed at his god Tane for not saving his child that he openly reviles the god in the dirge. He was a bold man to do so, but he demonstrated very effectively the depth of his grief. Pangeivi, who is addressed, was the priest of Tane at that period.

SOLO

E Pange ō i! e rau raua ia tama,	Oh, Pangeivi who treated my son,
Kau tomo te vaka.	The canoe has sunk.

CHORUS

A aore e tu, e ta'u atua.	Ah, you are no help, O my god (Tane).
I na'au ai kua 'oki ō,	Through you he should have returned,
E vao rakau ra'ui na'au,	[For we are] a forest protected by you,
Aore teta'i e tukua i te urunga piro.	Not one was to be allowed to die on the evil-smelling pillow.
Ina tika 'oki Turanga,	Such action may have been right for the god Turanga,
E vaimangaro ra taana!	For a spring of lies is his.
Parau aore e kai 'oki ta'au.	You are not weary, for you have eaten.
Tapara atu ra i te koi parara,	May you be plastered with filth
Kororo-kururu 'ua atu ra.	And even defaecated upon.
E atua te tangata e oia!	Man is [as good as] a god.

Koroneu grieves that his son died of a disease on the evil-smelling pillow (*urunga piro*) instead of having to die in battle like so many of the Ngati-Tane. Koroneu carries the insult further by breaking wind (*'u*) at Tane and ends up by cursing the priest of Tane.

SOLO

'Ua, e Tiki, i te ū turangi.	Efflate, O Tiki, with the efflatus of another world.

CHORUS

Aria.	Wait.

SOLO

'Ua, 'ua'ia.	Efflate, efflate at him.

CHORUS

Ko!	[Chorus of pretended explosions!]
To taringa, e Pangeivi,	Your ear, O Pangeivi,
I kai koe i ta'u tamaiti na.	You have eaten my child.

The phrase "To taringa" (Your ear) is a Polynesian curse. In Maori, a similar curse is fully expressed in the form, "To taringa, ei kai mau" (Your ear, may you eat it). In both Mangaian and Maori it is enough to say "Your ear," for the rest is understood by all.

WAR EVA

The war dirge (*eva puruki*) was rendered by two large parties formed up in line facing each other and about 80 yards apart. They were armed with weapons made of light wood (*orotea*). Gill (6, p. 272) states that an animated conversation took place between the two leaders as to the cause of the assumed war. The nearest of kin to the deceased then commenced a solo

relating to the heroic deeds of the tribe. The chorus was taken up by both war parties and swelled into deep volume. At appropriate places, the chorus was accentuated by the clashing of weapons and a war dance carried on with all the semblance of a real battle. Other songs were introduced by the solo and were followed by the chorus of both companies. The *eva puruki* were carefully composed and embodied a great deal of history. Gill (12, p. 97) records the war dirge for Tuopapa which alludes to the final defeat of the Teipe tribe at the battle of Ikuari. The dirge describes the battle, the crash of weapons, and the slaying of men. The end describes the fate of the defeated.

Tera oa na kai-tamua a Tutavake.	There are the first fruits of Tutavake.
Oi atu korua, e a'u taeake, ia atea.	Move on, O my friends, make way.
Oi tika; oi atu.	Move right; move on.
Tauma'a i te uru i te tokotoko ei vaerua toa,	Recite a spell over your weapon to get a warlike spirit,
Ei momotu i te mokotua o Tong'aiti.	To break the backbone of the Tongaiti tribe.
Piritoa, piritoa, piritoa.	Crash, crash, crash.
Tueru'atu e Rongo,	Scatter them, O Rongo,
Ia tu a papa tavake i te kopunga ra,	That they appear as a flock of tropic birds in the west,
I te avatea; oi mate i'o, oi ora atu!	In the daylight; some die, some live!
Ka 'ao Tutavake i ora ake.	Tutavake makes serfs of those who live.

ADZ EVA

The adz dirge (*eva toki*) was enacted as the appropriate eva to commemorate craftsmen, who were worthy of special recognition both for their valuable services to the tribe and because their knowledge was under the special patronage of the god Tane-mata-ariki. The mourners were evidently divided into two parties as in the war dirge. They were armed with model adzes cut out of ironwood, for stone heads were prohibited. At certain parts, the mourners struck the earth with the wooden adzes to convey the idea of cleaving it open to give a passage for the return of the deceased from the underworld of Avaiki. The mourners wept with tears streaming down their faces. In the example of an *eva toki* given by Gill (6, pp. 273-276), the solo consists of two lines and the rest is all chorus.

CRASHING EVA

The crashing dirge (*eva ta*), so translated by Gill (6, p. 273) from *ta* (to strike, to crash), was a war dirge which differed from the *eva puruki* in that the type of weapon was a wooden sword about an arm span long, and in that the recital of battles was concluded by a comedy. A good example was composed by the Ngati-Tane warrior Arokapiti in honor of Ruru

(6, pp. 276-280). This *eva* was performed by the mother's tribe (Ngati-Tane) and followed the adz *eva* which had been performed by the father's tribe. The dance opened as follows:

SOLO

Ia Ruru te toko i te ra oi.	Ruru was the prop of the sun [high chief].

CHORUS

Tera, e Ruru, te uira vananga ei unu'i i to manava,	There, O Ruru, is the lightning flash to loosen thy spirit,
O Ruru 'atia vaie —	O Ruru, broken alas!
Te kutu i te mangungu e karara i te rangi.	The thunder crashes in the heavens [to salute you].
(Ie koko koko.)	(War dance.)

After the recital of historical battles, the comedy part was introduced by the soloist, who stated that the drinking nuts of Ina, the moon goddess, were being stolen. The chorus divided into two and successively urged various kinds of land crabs to climb the coconut tree to catch the thieves.

ONE HALF

E kake ra koe, e te unga.	You climb, O robber crab.

OTHER HALF

Auā au e kake; na te irave e kake.	I will not climb; let the irave crab climb.

So each side alternately suggested a kind of crab until the *unga, irave, papaka, tupa, karau,* and *kari'i* were all enumerated. The rat (*kiore*) was then mentioned, and two men who had climbed a hala tree with ripe fruit called out, "No'ai teia nga'i?" (Whose place is this?) The full chorus then sang words which represented the sounds made by rats eating the hala fruit, squeaking and fighting.

Ake! ake! Keka! Keka! Tutute! Tutute!
Ngenengene! Ngenengene! Kaika! Kaika!

The "rats" showered handfuls of the ripe keys of the fruit over the performers below as they sang the final verse of the *eva ta.*

DEATH DRAMAS

The death dramas sung and acted at dart-throwing matches were extensions of the crashing *eva* with more acting. The dart-throwing competition itself was part of the commemoration of the death. The song composed dealt with some historical subject and, besides the chorus, actors were selected to play the principal part. The song recorded by Gill (6, pp. 238-243) was composed in honor of a woman, hence not only the dart-throwing competitors but the chorus and the actors were all women.

The plot of the drama concerned the adventures of Ngaru, who married two of the fairy daughters of Miru. He was carried by them to their mother's abode in the underworld. The parts of Ngaru, Miru, and the two daughters were represented. The two daughters sang the leading parts as a duet, and their singing alternated with that of the chorus. At the appropriate time the two daughters carried a large bundle representing Ngaru over the crest of the hill. The oven of Miru was prepared but not lighted, and the woman representing Ngaru was dragged toward it. The performance took place in the daytime at the base of a hill near Tamarua.

SPIRITS

Wanderings

Every individual had a spirit (*vaerua*) which was liberated by death when the life principle (*mauri*) was destroyed. The spirits remained in the vicinity of the body for a while and then wandered off disconsolately to the seashore, where they waited among the rocks and tangled vines until the time came for them to leave for the spirit world. They also haunted the place where the placenta to which they had been attached was buried. The spirits were said to be shadowy likenesses of their material forms. The spirits of warriors showed the wounds from which they had died. Gill (6, p. 156) states:

> They were arrayed in ghostly network, and a fantastic mourning of weeds picked upon the way, relieved, however, by the fragrant heliotrope which grows freely on the barren rocks. A red creeper, resembling dyed twine, wound round and round the head like a turban, completed their ghostly toilet.

The spirits in their wanderings were affected by the sharpness of rocks and the undergrowth of vines. Somewhat inconsistent with the report of the ghostly apparel above is the existence, on the west coast, of a smooth piece of coral rock said to be the place where the spirits spread out newly made bark cloth, and called Te-renanga-a-te-atua. It was held that the spirits, during the period of waiting for their departure, danced and revisited the vicinity of their former homes at night. From among the neighboring trees they sometimes attempted to peek inside the houses. They remembered their relatives with affection but became hostile if a loved child was ill-treated. They relieved the tedium by following the course of the sun from east to west along the coast.

A favorite gathering place was at Ana-kura (red-cave) on the west coast where the spirits of the southern half of the island met. Above the cave of Ana-kura is an open grassy space known as One-makenukenu (Smooth-sand) where they also gathered as a change. The spirits of the northern half met at Karanga-iti in the north. Some dominant spirit became leader of the waiting spirits and, when it considered that the company was large enough, it sent out spirit messages with instructions for all the spirits to gather on a set date for departure to the spirit world.

Departing Places

A number of methods of departure prevailed. Doubtless the different tribes maintained their own ideas on the subject. The places on the coast from which spirits departed for the underworld were termed *reinga vaerua* (Leaping-off-place of spirits.) Three of those were on the west coast, and one on the north:

1. Oneroa. The spirits of those buried at Kauava came in procession to a bluff rock standing near the present mission house at Oneroa, leaped to a smaller rock on the inner side of the reef, made their way to the outer edge of the reef, and finally departed in the path of the setting sun.

2. Araia. The spirits of those buried in the great cave of Auraka gathered on the outer edge of the makatea cliff at Araia close to the marae of Orongo and north of Oneroa. A great wave came over the reef a hundred yards away and washed up to the foot of the makatea. From the water rose a giant *pua* tree in full blossom with as many branches as there were tribes in Mangaia. Each tribe had its own branch on the tree, and the spirits took up their places on their tribal branches. When the tree was loaded it sank like a primitive lift through the wave and the opening which yawned below and deposited its passengers in the underworld.

3. Atuakoro. Farther to the northwest, two great stones at Atuakoro formed the *reinga vaerua* for the spirits of the northern part of the island. As at Oneroa, the spirits leaped from rock to rock and to the outer edge of the reef, from which they departed by the sunset path (6, pp. 157-159).

4. A more distant entrance to the underworld consisted of a whirlpool hole in an indentation of the reef in the north and was used mostly by the Ngariki tribe. Gill (6, p. 165) records that the spirit saw in his sleep a house built on long poles rising above the whirlpool with a ladder conveniently placed. The walls of the house were of closely placed yellow reeds adorned with black sennit. Outside the house new calabashes were hung by exquisitely braided yellow sennit. The tempted spirit ascended the ladder, but the moment he touched the sennit which suspended the calabashes the house was swept down into the depths and the spirit found himself in the underworld. Three whirlpools exist, and a house trap was associated with each.

The spirits which entered the underworld (*'aere ki te po*) were of those who had not had the good fortune to be slain in battle but who had died on the malodorous pillow (*urunga piro*). The spirits of warriors slain in battle ascended to an upper world of light (*'aere ki te ao*). These spirits wandered about near the battlefields where they were killed, and the voice of the cricket (*vava*) as it sang, "Kere-kerere-tao-tao," was supposed to be that of warrior spirits. The warrior first slain in battle was the leader, and he mobilized the other spirits at a spot near the burial cave of Araia. The parade ground was near the outer edge of the makatea overlooking Orongo and facing the setting sun. A mountain sprang up before them, which they ascended over the spears and clubs that had slain them. On reaching the summit, they leaped up into space (*rere ki te neneva*) to make their way to the warrior's spirit land.

Sometimes the god Rongo ascended to the upper world and tempted the spirits of slain warriors with a bunch of ripe bananas. If the spirit came

near, Rongo seized it and swallowed it whole. Later, however, the spirit was released and ascended to the warrior's paradise.

A Mangaian myth states that the first path of communication between the island and the underworld was through a cleft in the makatea cliff at Aremauku, about half a mile from Oneroa. Through this passage Rangi, the first settler, used to visit Rongo in the underworld of Avaiki. Spirits from the underworld, however, used to ascend to the upper world, where they stole food and committed other mischievous acts. Tiki, the sister of Veetini, made the supreme sacrifice to save mankind from further annoyances. She rolled herself alive down the hole, which immediately sealed itself up. This effectively prevented other visits from the underworld spirits, but it also blocked the entrance for the spirits of the dead when the time came for them to descend to the lower Avaiki or *po*. The hole was subsequently named Te-rua-ia-Tiki (Tiki's-hole). The myth is a local composition made to fit the localization of Rongo in the underworld.

The situation of *reinga vaerua* in the west conforms to the general Polynesian plan. A *reinga* in Mangaia refers to jumping-off or diving places for bathers. In Rarotonga, a similar place at Tuoro on the west coast is termed a *rereanga vaerua* (*rere,* "to jump"). In New Zealand the departing places of spirits receive the Rarotongan form, *rerenga wairua,* and the Mangaian term *reinga* is given to the spirit land. The Maori term *reinga* also carries the meaning of "jumping off."

The whirlpool or deep pool in the north corresponds with the Maori concept of the *rerenga wairua,* but both the house on poles and the *pua* tree are elaborations. The house on poles is evidently a variation from the *pua* tree which exists in Rarotonga, together with details regarding Muru (Miru) and the net of Akaanga, which the Mangaians have evidently derived from Rarotonga. In Mangaia the spirits were reluctant to leave, for they had to be tempted by the odorous flowers of the *pua,* the new calabashes of the vanishing house, and the ripe bananas of Rongo.

The sun-glade path of Mangaia corresponds to the broad pathway of Tane (*te ara whanui o Tane*) in New Zealand. The Mangaian myth adds the detail of the spirits passing down the western opening of the sun. This addition is a natural consequence of the local sun myth, in which the sun rises through an eastern opening, passes down through a western opening, and spends the night in the lower Avaiki. Associated with it is the story of Veetini, the first person who died. His spirit returned to earth from the east, where it evidently came up through the sun's eastern opening. After instructing his parents and sister in the funeral ceremonies, Veetini returned to the underworld by the sun path and the western opening. This is recorded in Vaipo's chant for Veetini (6, p. 186).

E aru atu i to miringa
O te ra paa opuopu atu na ē.
  Taka'i'ia te ra
Ei 'eke i Te-kuru-tukia.

Follow behind the [thy] back
Of the sun as it is setting now, alas!
  Tread down the sun
To provide a descent to Te-kuru-tukia
  [a name for the lower spirit realm].

Lower Spirit Realm

The wide distribution in Polynesia of an underworld as an abode for the spirits of the dead shows that the concept was in existence before the island of Mangaia was peopled. This realm of the spirits is widely referred to as *po* (night) in contrast to *ao* (day), and the name carries not only the antithesis between night and day, but between darkness and light, a nether world and an upper world, and death and life.

Associated with the *po* is the realm of a spiritual Avaiki. The place name Avaiki under various dialectical forms indicates one or more lands or islands at which the ancestors of the Polynesians sojourned in their voyages from west to east. They carried the name along with them and reapplied it to various islands, and it became in time a sentimental term applied to a previous homeland with which the living had lost contact. The restrictions that apply to the living do not bind the spirits of the dead, however. In some areas, including New Zealand, the spirits of the dead return to the ancient homeland of Avaiki. Smith (19, p. 47) has propounded the feasible theory that in Polynesia the departing places of spirits were on the west coast because they formed the nearest point of departure for the ancient homeland which lay to the west. The west is termed *raro,* which also means "below." The two meanings have become associated in the path taken by the spirit, so that when it goes west it also goes below. By going below the surface, the spirit enters the *po* or underworld. Hence the spiritual Avaiki and the *po* have become associated and interchangeable as terms for the region occupied by the spirits of the dead.

Mangaia has departed from the standard Polynesian pattern by making the spiritual Avaiki in the underworld ('Avaiki-i-te-po) the Avaiki from which their human ancestors came. As Avaiki lies beneath the island of Mangaia, it is of considerable extent, for it must extend beyond the western and eastern horizons where are situated the openings through which the sun enters and emerges on its nightly passage through Avaiki. The passage of the sun through Avaiki conflicts with the concept of *po,* but where local rationalizations have taken place the maintenance of strict logic cannot be expected.

The Mangaian underworld must be regarded as unorthodox in its extent and content. Somewhere near the upper part is Paparairai, the land of Vatea. Evidently connected with it in some way is Auau, the land occupied by Rongo.

Rongo is the one god who functions in the lower world. Of his brothers, Tangaroa left the underworld, but the others remain there. Except for swallowing the spirits of warriors occasionally, Rongo did not interfere with the spirits of the dead. Besides the mythical children of Vari and their named lands, other mythical and historical characters were conveniently localized in the underworld. Among them was a group of people with single eyes, and others were cannibals known as "the army of Marama." The underworld or *po* was that part of Avaiki immediately below Mangaia which was reached originally through the chasm known as Tiki's hole and on its closure by means of the vanishing houses and *pua* tree which sank straight down. The part immediately below was the spiritual Auau, the home of Rongo.

The denizen of the underworld interested in the spirits of the dead was Miru, in Mangaian myth an ugly old woman and a confirmed cannibal. Her husband is not recorded, but she had five children, as follows:

Miru = ?

—Tautiti, m.
—Kumutonga-i-te-po, f.
—Karaia-i-te-ata, f.
—Te-rau-ara, f.
—Te-poro, f.

Tautiti, the son of Miru, was the patron of dancing, and, in human form, he visited the upper world when festivities and dancing were being carried on at night. The four daughters were women of high rank (*tapairu*). Owing to their great beauty and fairy origin, the term *tapairu* in Mangaia has come to mean fairies of peerless beauty. The four fairy daughters of Miru also attended night dances in the upper world. According to Gill (6, pp. 256-257), if the dances were in the northern part of the island they appeared at sunset and, after bathing in the stream of Auparu, dried and arranged their hair on a neighboring hill before viewing the dances. If in the southern part of the island, they appeared at the streams of Vaipau and Vaikaute for their ablutions. They would even join in the dance if one end of the dancing ground was covered with freshly cut banana leaves to be reserved to them. At the appearance of the morning star, they returned to the underworld. The names of the son and daughters of Miru appear in many of the songs composed for festivals.

Akaanga, a male, provided with a large net with strong meshes, together with assistants, lived in the underworld and assisted Miru in her dealings with the spirits of the dead.

The giant *pua* tree that rose to receive the spirits grew up from the territory occupied by Miru. Near its base was a fresh-water lake named Vairoto-ariki (Chiefly-fresh-water-lake).

Miru grew the kava named Te-voo and was equipped with an oven referred to in song as follows:

Na Miru ʻoki te umu ka roa.	To Miru belongs the ever-burning oven.
I raro ē!	Down below!

Miru was alluded to as Miru-kura (*kura,* "red, ruddy") owing to the ruddiness of her face from her ever-burning oven.

The fate of all spirits of the dead which entered the underworld was to be eaten by Miru. When the spirits took their places on the *pua* tree, the tree sank down to Avaiki. The spirits looking down saw a vast net spread around the foot of the tree held by Akaanga and his assistants. From the net there was no escape, hence the saying concerning the dying, "Ka ʻei i roto i te kupenga tini mata varu." (To be caught in a net with a myriad meshes.) The net with its catch was submerged in the lake of Vai-roto-ariki until the spirits were almost drowned. They were then hauled up and ushered into the presence of Miru. Miru followed the human etiquette of giving food to her unwilling guests, but the food of the dead consisted of earthworms, black beetles, crabs, and blackbirds, as enumerated in Koroa's lament (6, pp. 204, 205):

Putunga kai ē, na Tiki ʻoki ē,	A share of a feast, derived from Tiki,
Na Tiki ʻoki na Ura.	From Tiki to Ura.
Te porea mai i te *toketoke kura,*—	Red earthworms are handed to him,
I te toketoke kura i, i te viʻiviʻi *taʻae.*	Red earthworms and frightful things.
Kua o koe i te takanga o te *ueue,*	Thou hast made thy farewell meal on prepared black beetles,
Na mānga a te tangata mate.	The food of the dead.
Kua roia i te karaʻi ma te momoʻo.	It is supplemented with landcrabs and blackbirds.

A bowl of kava was prepared from the root of Te-voo by Miru's daughters. The draught was so potent that it stupefied the guests, who were borne off unresisting to be cooked in Miru's oven. Miru and her family fed on the cooked spirits, and the remains were tossed aside for Akaanga and his assistants.

In the tale of the culture hero Ngaru, Kumutonga and Karaia came up from Avaiki to request Ngaru to accompany them home to their husband:

Ngaru was bundled up in wrappings of bark cloth and carried on a pole symbolic of death as the means of entering the spirit land. In a song are the following lines:

Takina o Ngaru-tai,	Ngaru-tai was conducted,
Na Kumutonga i ʻapai,	Kumutonga carried him,
E ʻapai ki ʻAvaiki,	Carried him to Avaiki,
Ei kai na Miru-kura,	To be eaten by Miru-the-ruddy.
Ei tane Ngaru-tai,	Ngaru-tai was to be a husband.
ʻAkiʻakia tute, ʻakiʻakia kava,	Pluck off the branches, break off the kava,
Te manava ia Te-voʻo.	The main root of Te-voo.

Ngaru was given kava to chew but it had no effect upon him. He advanced to Miru's blazing oven and, in answer to his query, Miru frankly told him that the oven had been prepared for him. Ngaru admonished her, saying that in the upper world his grandfather Moko-roa did not have an oven for human flesh but that he fed his visitors and allowed them to depart in peace. As he touched the oven with his foot, a deluge came down and a flood not only extinguished the fire but carried away Miru and her two youngest daughters. Ngaru-tai clung to a *nono* tree, and the two eldest daughters of Miru, who were to marry him, saved their lives by clinging to his legs. After other adventures, Ngaru-tai returned to the upper world by means of ropes lowered by two *karakerake* birds which had been sent by his grandfather Moko. Though the fire was extinguished and Miru presumably drowned, the victory was a wish consummation to add fame to the culture hero in the myth recital. Miru lived on and her fire continued burning.

All spirits that entered the Po, even those which went down by the sun's entrance, were sooner or later caught by Akaanga and handed over to Miru to be cooked in her oven after the draught of kava. In a song very badly translated by Gill, a doubt which expresses a hope is present (6, p. 176):

E nunumi atu,	[They] disappear,
Ka 'aere paa i te umu tao,	[They] pass perhaps into the cooking oven,
I te umu kai na Miru e -.	The food oven of Miru.
No'ea Miru?	Where does Miru belong?
No 'Avaiki, i te po 'anga noa e.	To Avaiki, in the night self-created.

NOTE: The first two lines are translated by Gill: "She devours All who approach the blazing oven." He translates "i te po 'anga noa" in the last line as "out of horrid darkness." Gill was evidently influenced in his translations by his European concept of Hades, which he gives as the equivalent of *po* and the spiritual Avaiki.

The use of the words "hades" or "hell" to represent the Polynesian conception of *po* is to be deprecated. These words convey the concepts of Christian fundamentalists, which consist of a complex in which everlasting torment in hell-fire is meted out as a punishment for sins committed during life on earth. The Polynesion *po* is a region to which the spirits of the dead pass on as a matter of course. The individual is punished in this world, and the continuance of unceasing punishment in the next world is not a Polynesian concept. In some Polynesian areas the *po* is a region where the spirit simply exists without any hostile interference. The Mangaian idea of the ever-burning oven of Miru from which there was no escape, probably approaches the Christian concept more nearly than that of most Polynesian areas. The quotations from songs composed before the arrival of missionaries show that Miru's oven was not borrowed from European sources. It must be stressed that being cooked was not a punishment for earthly sins, but simply the fate of those who entered the Mangaian *po*. The oven was the means by which a spiritual ogress cooked the food she particularly relished. A Polynesian *po* need not necessarily be an evil place, but the Mangaian *po* was bad because there was no escape from Miru. Hence the poet Koroa in a

lament says (6, p. 217) : " 'Ua tau 'ua i e te 'enua kino i raro." ([You have] arrived at the bad land below.)

The term *kino,* as the Polynesian sees it, is difficult to express in English. The word "evil" may convey to some the idea of bad from a moral point of view, which is not the Polynesian concept. If a normal condition is good, then any departure from normal is *kino.* Life is good; therefore death is *kino.* The spirits did not wish to enter the underworld while there was a chance of returning to life. Even up to the last moment of departure the spirit would return to its body if it heard a friendly voice calling it to return. Both the *pua* tree and the house on poles had actually to tempt the spirits with fragrant flowers and new calabashes before they took the final step. The train of spirits departing for the setting sun is represented in laments as a sorrowful band. They were about to enter a realm which forever parted them from those they loved. The underworld was therefore *kino* or bad. In addition to the general idea of *kino,* the growth of the hostile activities of Miru and Akaanga made the Mangaian underworld particularly undesirable. Probably "undesirable" or "bad" expresses *kino* as applied to the underworld better than "evil."

Though the usual opinion was that the spirits were destroyed by Miru, some learned men held that the spirits simply passed through those who ate them. This theory accords with that concerning the spirits of slain warriors who had been swallowed by Rongo in the upper world. After Rongo's return to the underworld these spirits were liberated by passing through Rongo's digestive tract. Owing to the manner of their death, the liberated spirits were exempted from Miru's oven and made their escape to the warrior's paradise.

In Rarotonga, Miru appears as Muru, a male. Muru, however, lived in the upper world, for he spread a net in a hollow in the rocks at Tuoro on the west coast between the villages of Avarua and Arorangi. The spirit ascended a *pua* tree and, if the branch on which it rested broke, it was immediately caught in Muru's net. If the spirit escaped it was caught in the net of Akaanga set nearer the reef. The spirits of the Ngatangiia tribe rested on the ironwood tree, but they were caught in the same way. Muru and Akaanga dashed out the brains of their victims against the coral and carried them off to be eaten in the underworld (6, p. 169).

In Aitutaki, Miru was a deformed hag of repulsive countenance dwelling in the underworld. She fed her victims with live centipedes, which caused them to dive into a near-by lake where they were drowned. Miru then cooked and ate them.

Upper Spirit Realm

The widespread concept of ten upper superimposed spirit realms was held in Mangaia. Gill (6, p. 2) diagrammatically represents the first realm as bounded by the supposed orbit of the sun between its eastern and western openings into the lower world. A myth states that the sky once rested close to earth on the leaves of the *pia* (arrowroot) and *teve,* which were thus flattened out. Ru came up from Avaiki and propped the sky a little higher with strong wooden stakes set on the central plateau of Rangimotia. Maui, who was made son to Ru, quarreled with his father and threw both Ru and the sky to a tremendous height from which neither returned again. The boundaries between realms were skies (*rangi*), and an allusion to Ru shows that the number of skies was not necessarily restricted to ten, but was many: "Ru-tokotoko-i-te-rangi-tuatini." (Ru-propper-up-of-the-many-skies.) Tangaroa was supposed to live in a vague upper spirit realm after leaving his brother Rongo in the underworld.

The myth regarding Ngaru-tai shows that the upper realms were peopled by mythical creatures of much the same disposition as those inhabiting the lower realms. The principal character was the cannibal Amai-te-rangi, who let down an attractive-looking basket on a rope to entrap Ngaru (6, pp. 234-236). Ngaru ascended and by strategy and the aid of the lizard host of his grandfather Mokoroa overcame the demon. The demon killed his victims with a stone chisel and a mallet and was killed in turn by Ngaru with his own tools. The sky-demon was only an incident in a story and disappears without entering into permanent competition with Miru for the spirits of men. In the upper realm were *tapairu* (women of high rank), of whom the two principal ones were Ina and Matonga. From them Ngaru learned the game of juggling with balls so that eight were kept going at one time. Having vanquished his teachers in the game, Ngaru returned to earth.

Warriors' Spirit Realm

Besides acquiring privileges in this world, warriors slain in battle continued them in the spirit world. They were exempted from the oven of Miru for, instead of descending to the lower realm, they ascended into an upper world of light (*'aere ki te ao*). The realm occupied by the spirits after they leaped off the mountain into space (*neneva*) was known as Tiairi. Tiairi is evidently a local name and was said to have been named after the spot where the first human being, Matoetoea, was slain by Tu-kai-taua. Tiairi evidently had no special boundaries and extended vaguely over the ten or more superimposed realms. That Tiairi is not borrowed from Christian sources is shown

by allusions in native laments composed before the advent of missionaries. In a lament for the sons of Rori, slain in battle, is the following (6, p. 178):

Na tokotoru a Rori	The three [sons] of Rori
Ei tupeke pare kura e!	Leaping in red feather headdresses!
Tera roa te 'anau te 'aka mai i te nga'ere.	There indeed the family is dancing as in war,
I te kapa toa i Tia'iri.	In the ranks of the warriors at Tiairi.

The warrior spirits were decked with garlands of flowers and sweet-scented leaves. They were vigorous because they had been slain in active service while enjoying their full vigor and strength, in contrast to the spirits of those who had died of sickness or old age. In Tiairi, they told tales of old battles, sang, and danced (*'aka*) the war dances of old. They despised the spirits in the underworld upon whom their excreta fell.

It was natural to associate the spirits with the clouds that move through space. In the winter season the skies were dark, and clouds obscured the sun because of the presence of spirits which could not ascend to Tiairi in that season. This presence, as well as the season, caused depression to mortals. As the rainy season ceased early in August, the lighter clouds rose higher; and as they moved through the skies they represented the spirits departing to the upper realm. They were last seen as specks (*poepoe*) in the distance, which led to the use of Poepoe as an alternative name for Tiairi. The following is a reference to Poepoe in a lament (6, p. 177):

Puputa motu taua e!	Our companionship is severed, alas!
Ka 'aere au tei Poepoe!	I go to Poepoe.
E 'enua 'akarere Mangaia e taea mai e!	Mangaia is a land forsaken which can not be regained.

The warriors' resting place was also alluded to in general terms as *puokia*.

The social elevation of the warrior in Mangaia has greatly affected the mechanism of the spirit realms. In Rarotonga the warrior spirits occupied a special part of the underworld in the house of Tiki, but in Mangaia the warriors' spirit realm was totally detached from the region occupied by Miru. The concept of the exclusive warriors' spirit realm, embodied in verse and song, flattered the vanity of living warriors and exercised a great influence upon them. Aged warriors induced their relatives to give them positions in the battlefield in order that by being slain in battle they might join their warrior friends in Tiairi. Ikoke, son of Mautara, on hearing of the violent death of his brother Takurua, said, "I nunga i te puokia maua e aravei atu ei." (On the warriors' resting place we shall meet later on.) To accomplish the meeting he took care to die on a field of battle. The reaction of the concepts of the upper and lower spirit realms upon the people was to breed valiant fighters who were not only fearless of death on the battlefield, but rather welcomed it.

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